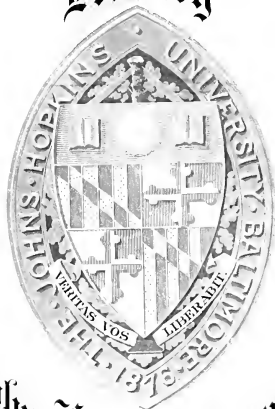




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THE ARTISTIC USE OF THE LOVE CHARM
IN GREEK AND LATIN LITERATURE

A DISSERTATION

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the degree of
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by

Leslie Cornelius Cox

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PREFACE

Previous to this study, the love charm has been the subject of several dissertations. Two of these, O. Hirschfeld, *De incantamentis atque devinctionibus amatoriis apud Graecos Romanosque* diss. Regimont, 1863, and U. Kehr, *Quaestionum magicarum specimen*, progr. Hadersleben, 1884, I regret to say have not been at my disposal. Their results have, however, been largely superseded by investigations made since the publication of the magic papyri, particularly those of C. Wessely in 1888, which have revolutionized opinions previously held on this charm. The monograph of L. Fahz, *De Romanorum doctrina magica in Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* 2. (1904), part 2, though valuable for its collection of examples is partially vitiated by their indiscriminate use. Ivor Bruns in a treatise, *Die Liebeszauber bei den augusteischen Dichtern*, *Preussische Jahrbücher* CIII, 1901, pp. 193-220, concerns himself only with one aspect of the subject, and that one which does not materially affect the questions at issue. By far the best study of the whole problem is that of R. Dedo, *De antiquorum superstitione amatoria*, diss. Gryph. 1904. Dedo has succeeded in making quite a number of interesting

observations based on a thorough study of the texts involved, but he has dealt with isolated facts rather than the principles of magic, and has failed to see that what the poets have to say is to a very great extent influenced by the artistic necessities of the situation in each case. The purpose of this dissertation is to bring this last fact into its true light, and to attempt on this basis to reconstruct the magic operations which lie at the bottom of complex literary accounts.

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL SURVEY.

With the possible exception of necromancy no magic operation of antiquity has aroused so much general interest as the love charm, nor has any been so thoroughly canvassed by the expositors of literary art. Nothing could be more pathetic in its way than the picture painted for us by Theocritus of the deserted girl casting the magic herbs on the burning brazier, and sending upward to the moon the song which was to bring her lover home, and few subjects offer such an opportunity for the depiction of certain aspects of the human emotions. The purpose of the love charm is, as the name suggests, primarily to gain love, but mingled with this there are very often subsidiary motives of a like description. One may not feel secure in his love, and may wish to strengthen it by recourse to magic rites. One may desire to win someone from a rival, or to protect oneself from like plots. As a last resort, in case all efforts fail, one may contemplate revenge and the death of his tormentor. On the other hand we hear occasionally of someone attempting to rid himself of love, but this is usually by certain rites of purification which are not specifically magical.

As in magic generally, so here there are two ways in which the desired result may be brought about. These are

the direct and the indirect method. The first reaches its object directly and independently of outside influence, the second indirectly through the agency of some intervening power. But the distinction is far from being a rigid one, and in fact it is often very hard to tell at times which method is being employed. The use of potions and salves may be fairly said to represent the direct method, and this is an important segment in the whole circle of magic. But where there are no evidences of contact we are led naturally to suspect that there is an intervening power, and rightly too, as I think may be shown in several cases. It is well known that the rites and ceremonies of magic practice have for their purpose the securing of the actual presence of the god or demon invoked. The same principle exists here as in ancient religious sacrifice, which presupposed in every case the presence of the divinity. An examination of the use of an effigy or image, so common in love magic, shows that originally it was deposited in the grave of a dead man for the purpose of evoking his spirit.¹ The herb *psoralea* which in literature seem to be used directly against the object of the

1. Hence the connection of the love charm everywhere with necromancy.

charm, are in the popular usage seen to have had the power to bring down the moon from the sky to the aid of the sorcerer. The *λυγῆ* or *δῶδός*, which is throughout the literature used directly, can be shown to be in its origin a charm for drawing down the moon. But these things were lost sight of. The part which the gods or demons played in the action faded in people's consciousness, and as a result literary artists show the various instruments of magic applied without the intervention of any outside agency. In short the means which were used to coerce the god are used to coerce the object of the spell.

Before proceeding with the consideration of the various problems connected with the charm it will perhaps be well to give a slight historical survey of this theme as it appears in Greek and Latin literature. After enumerating many of the magic substances mentioned in the eighth eclogue of Vergil, and quoting several lines taken from the midst of the magic practices outlined in the fourth book of the Aeneid,¹ Apuleius, *Apology* 30, goes on to say that he could also quote similar passages from many other places, "*memorassem tibi etiam Theocriti paria et alia Homeri et Orphei plurima et ex comoediis et tra-*

1. 513-517.

goedii Graecis et ex historiis multa repetissem ... igitur unum etiam poetam Latinum attingam, versus ipsos, quos¹ agnoscent qui Laevium legere.

Apuleius then quotes from the last mentioned poet who has been identified with the Laevius who wrote the Erotopaegnia. The fragment quoted may perhaps come from this work.

In Homer there is practically nothing which bears on the subject. Two of the great departments of magic, metamorphosis and necromancy are treated at length in the tenth and eleventh books of the Odyssey respectively. These yield very easily to epic treatment. But with the love charm it is different. It has to do with ordinary men and women, and the epic is on a grand scale which precludes the use of the common every day motives of love.

The Greek tragedians furnish more examples of magic operations than Homer does.² As we should expect Aeschylus is not so fertile here as his successors. The only notable magic motive present is necromancy. He deals too much with the heroic world to afford much play for human emotions. Sophocles is more instructive in the sphere of the love

1. MSS. have lelius which has been emended^{to} Laevius. See Abt, R.V.V. IV.p.174.

2. E.Riess, Superstitions in Greek Tragedy, T.A.P.A. XXVII. 1896, p.5 ff; A.Abt, R.V.V. IV.p.171 ff.; R.Dedo l.c. p.36.

charm, but even^h descends very little from the higher levels of poetry. The shirt of Nessus comes in however for special¹ mention. The monster's blood, poisoned as it is with the venom of the hydra of Lerna makes a philtre of terrible potency, and the appalling result, so unforeseen by Deianeira,² raises the charm very much above the ordinary. The 'Περσέειρα'² of Sophocles, which tells of the dealings of Medea with the daughter of Pelias, and the Κορυμβία³, which deals with the quest of the golden fleece, must have had situations in which magic was employed. The fragments of the latter however reveal nothing of the kind; in the former case we find Medea gathering herbs in the approved fashion, presumably for the metamorphoses which are proposed. Euripides brings his poetry down more to the level of the people, and so furnishes more material for discussion in this sphere. The first Hippolytus contained a prayer by⁴ Phaedra to the moon as the patroness of unlucky lovers. The Hippolytus which has come down to us has a direct reference to the love charm, v. 478,

1. Soph. Trach. 572 ff.
2. Nauck, 1st ed., T.G.F. frgs. 489-491.
3. Nauck, 1st ed., frgs. 311-322.
4. Scholia on Theo. II. 10; Nauck, 1st ed., p. 390.

εἶπεν δ' ἐπώδαι καὶ λόγῳ θελκτήριοι
πανήσεται τι τῆσδε πόσεσσι νόσῳ.

In v.512 the nurse touches on one of the well known acts of sympathetic magic, the use of something which belongs² to the person upon whom the spell is to be cast.

δεῖ δ' ἐξ ἐκείνου δῆ τι τοῦ προσουμένου
σημεῖον, ἢ λόγον τιν' ἢ πέπλον ὅπο
λαβεῖν, συνάψαι τ' ἐκ θυοῖν μίαν χάριν.

In the Andromache, v.32, we are told that Hermione accused Andromache of making her barren and hated by Neoptolemus³ by means of secret drugs. This is akin to a love charm. The robe which Medea sends to Creusa may be compared with the shirt of Nessus, but here it is not a case of gaining⁴ love but of thoroughgoing revenge. Sosiphanes in his Meleager says that every Thessalian woman is credited with being able to draw down the moon by means of magic incan-⁵tations.

What role the love charm played in Greek Comedy it is impossible to tell on account of the almost entire loss

1. Cf. v.509.

2. Cf. the sympathy which existed between the log of wood and the life of Meleager, Nauck, 2nd ed., frg.531. According to Pausan. X.31,4, Phrynichus tells the story in his Pleuroniai. Cf. Nauck, 1st ed., p.659.

3. Cf. v.157-8, and v.205. See K.F. Smith, A.J.P. XXXIV 1913, p.62 ff.

4. Medea 786 ff.

5. Nauck, 1st ed., p.638.

of the middle and new branches of that department.¹ We should naturally expect that it would be great, but the fragments fail to indicate this. The most¹ contribution here is the lost *πεπτάλη* of Menander, which evidently emphasized strongly the theme of drawing down the moon.² Aristophanes has also touched lightly upon this motive in *Clouds* 749 ff., where Strepsiades proposes to get himself a Thessalian witch to bring down the moon. The *όόυβορς* is³ mentioned several times, but nowhere can it be specifically connected with the love charm because of its known use for other purposes.

Abt finds little in history which treats of the love⁴ charm. Mention should perhaps be made of the joking remarks of Socrates in *Xen.Mem.III.11,16*, about *τίλτορα*, *έπωδαί*, and the use of the *έυνε* wheel.

The first surviving systematic treatment of the love

1. E. Riess, *Superstitions and Popular Beliefs in Greek Comedy*, A.J.P. XVIII, 1897, p.189 ff.; Abt, l.c. p.169 ff.; Dedo, l.c. p.36.

2. Frgs.in Kock, F.C.A. III.65 ff.; Pliny, N.H. XXX.6,7, *fabulam complexam ambages feminarum detrahentium lunam*. Dedo, l.c. p.36 n.4 wishes to connect this comedy with Sophron's Mime *τί γυναικες αί τόν θεόν παντί έεελλον* (Kaibel, *Com.Graec.Frag.*p.154 ff.)

3. Meineke, *Index* s.v. *όόυβορς*.

4. l.c. p. 173.

charm is to be found in the second idyll of Theocritus.

But Theocritus, we are told by the Scholia on II.70

τὴν δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν ὑπόθεσιν ἐκ τῶν Σώφρονος μίμων

μεταλάβει.¹ This probably means that Theocritus took over

the groundwork of the incantation from Sophron, who had worked it out in the coarse way which is characteristic of the mime. The theme no doubt required considerable changes in the direction of refinement to make it suitable for the idyll, but it is possible that these changes were more in the details of the love affair than in the magic practices. At least the above Scholia would seem to bear this out. Thestylis was the name of a character in Sophron's mimes as we learn from the hypothesis of the second idyll of Theocritus, τὴν δὲ θεστυλίδα ὁ θεόκριτος

ἀπειροκάλως² ἐκ τῶν Σώφρονος μετένευχε μίμων . We are somewhat in the dark as to which mime of Sophron, if any particular one, was the model of Theocritus. Indications however point to the mime entitled τὰ γυναῖκες αἱ τὴν

θεῖν παντὶ ἔδειξαν.³ The various meanings which this title

1. The change of παλαιῶν to παλαιακευτοῖων is unnecessary.

2. This is probably the remark of some ignorant scholiast who didn't understand that Theocritus must make some changes as the result of artistic necessities.

3. Frgs. in Kaibel l.c.

might have ^{have} been thoroughly canvassed by R. Wünsch, without any very satisfactory result.¹ Finally we cannot be sure either that Theocritus goes back to this mime, or that the mime refers to the drawing down of the moon. It seems more likely that Sophron emphasized the bringing up of Hecate, as Theocritus did after him, and as we may perhaps infer from the Scholia on v.12, where we are told that Sophron called Hecate νεοτέραν πούτανιν.

The eighth Eclogue of Vergil is modeled after the second Idyll of Theocritus, but is far from being a slavish imitation of it.² The magic practices of the fourth book of the Aeneid are foreshadowed by those of the eighth Eclogue. Vergil is able to introduce them into epic poetry because Dido is not in earnest but resorts to them only to deceive her sister about her motive in building a funeral pyre. Even so lines 512-516 are not entirely

1. Fleckeisens Jahrbücher XXVII, 1902, p. 111 ff. I wish to suggest that taken in connection with the only fragment that can be definitely connected with it ὁμοκατέ-
ουκται δὲ ἐν κοινῇ τοιαύτῃ ἀσθενομένην (3. Kaibel), the title would naturally be translated 'Women who assert that they drive away the goddess'. This is the province of the ἀσθενομένην.

2. Vergil set the style for later writers of Eclogues. J. Sannazaro, Ecl. V; P. Lotichius Secundus, Ecl. V; J. Leocaeus Scotus, Ecl. Eucol. III; Boiardo, Lat. Ecl. VIII; R. Rapin, Ecl. Sac. X.

in keeping with the epic. They belong more to the sphere of erotic poetry, and were perhaps inserted only to make complete the account of magic practices. The love charm was an apt subject for the shafts of satire, and Horace didn't miss the opportunity to treat it at some length in the eighth satire of the first book and the fifth and seventeenth epodes. He added a great deal to the literary history of the theme by laying special emphasis on the popular side of the charm. The three elegists, Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid are replete with references to all the different aspects of the love charm, and while there is no systematic treatment, there is still a great deal to be learned from sporadic references. Their method of handling such material may with all probability be traced to the Alexandrian elegy, which unfortunately has not come down to us.¹

The scarcity of this type of poetry makes it impossible to tell what the reference is in the Orphic pluri-ma of Apuleius, but we know that charms are to be found² in the corpus of Orphica, and it is very probable that at one time they contained love charms. It is generally

1. Cf. Dedo, De antiquorum superstitione amatoria, p.37, n.2.; Pliny, N.H. XXVIII.19 places Catullus along with Theocritus and Vergil - hinc Theocriti apud Graecos, Catulli apud nos proximeque Vergili incantamentorum amatoria imitatio. Cf. Dedo, l.c. p.38.

2. See Abel, Orphica frg.172 ff; Arg. 955 ff; Lith.172 ff.

conceded that the magic papyri contain a great deal of Orphic material,¹ more particularly hymns to the gods, which have been slightly changed from their original Orphic form to meet the requirements of a magic incantation. These are very important in the history of the love charm, and I have translated parts of one which is found in the greater Paris Papyrus v.2714 ff.² We may suspect that some of it is Orphic in origin. Analogies with the second idyll of Theocritus may be noted here and there.

"Come hither Hecate ... list, and break the gates of far famed adamant. ... Come hither Hecate, thou who breathest fire, frequenter of the cross roads, and leader of the shades, to whose lot fall hard ways and dangerous visitations, on thee, Hecate, I call, and ye who have died before your time, and the heroes who have died, holy and childless, fiercely shrilling, gnawing at the heart within, ye windy phantoms, stand above her head and take away sweet sleep. May never eyelid be dosed upon eyelid, may she be worn out with sleepless thoughts of me. If

1. Dieterich, *Fleckeisens Jahrbücher* XVI, 1888, p.774 ff.; Wunsch, *Aus einem griechischen Zauterpapyrus*, Einleitung and notes.

2. I have followed Abel's text, *Appendix to his Orphica*, p.289 ff.

anyone else recline upon her breast, drive him away, and store me in her heart; deserting him may she stand upon my threshold o'ercome in soul with love and desire of me. ... Come hither great Hecate, of many counsels, I call you by my incantations. Raginmad may she come quickly to my door, forgetting friends and children, and hating the whole race of men and women. To my house may she come with me alone at her heart, o'ercome by the fierce necessity of love ...

THE MAGIC POPYRI

The reader, who sets out to follow closely the varying fortunes of the love charm as it emerges at various places in Greek and Latin literature, cannot help but be impressed with the diversity of treatment accorded its several parts and the consequent impossibility of arriving at an adequate and definite notion of the underlying magic practices. This is of course inevitable. The department of literature, the period of writing, the source of materials, individual temperament, all these and more come in for consideration. Theocritus, we may suspect, comes nearer to the original practice than Latin and later Greek writers. Vergil in the Eclogue is different from Vergil in the Aeneid and the vulgar magic of the mistress of Amaryllis would be out of place in the account of the tragic end of the queen of Carthage.¹ The bold outlines of Horace's attack on Canidia find no place in the studied, conventional elegy of Propertius and his successors.

It is well then that we possess as a sober background for such tendencies a source which, however negligible it may be from the point of view of the artist, will serve to offset the puzzling complexity of literary phenomena.² This is the magic popyri, which have been from time

1. H.W. De DeWitt, The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Vergil, Toronto, 1907, p.22 ff.

2. The Vausika-Sûtra does much the same thing for the Atharva Veda as the Popyri for the magic literature.

to time dug up in Egypt. They belong roughly to the second, third and fourth centuries A.D., but we may be tolerably certain that the practices involved antedate the literary monuments, and that they are fairly indicative of the method of procedure which was current at the time the literature was being written. Magic is above all conservative, and changes very little from age to age; it is the possession of the folk, who are simple and pertinacious in their beliefs. In addition to this we shall find that in almost every instance the current of thought and advance runs from the Papyri to the literature. The one represents the popular conception of magic, the other, the deliberate exploitation of popular belief for artistic purposes. The one is simple, direct, and proceeds immediately, without any introduction, to the elucidation of magic practice, the other is complicated, full of allusion, and cast in an artistic mould, the original of which we have sometimes lost.

It is generally said that the magic practice of the papyri may be divided into four parts, ἐπίθυμο, λόγος, ποῦξις, θυλοκτερίον. These are the four essentials of a complete magic rite which is destined to recall a recreant lover - the recipe for incense, the invocation to the

1. A list of papyri bearing on the question of the love charm will be found in the Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, ed. A. Dieterich and R. Wunsch, Vol. 2, pp. 107, 108. Compare also A. Dieterich in Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher XIII, 1888, p. 749. The most important for the subject under consideration is the greater Paris Papyrus edited by C. Wessely. Denkschriften d. Kaiserl. Acad. d. Wien Phil. Class. XXXIX, 1888, p. 44 ff. Next is Papyrus CXXI of the British Museum, edited by F. G. Kenyon, Greek Papyri in the British Museum, London 1893, p. 83 ff. Others of less importance, with the places in which they are published, will be found in the above mentioned lists.

goddess, usually Hecate, the actual practice, consisting chiefly in the burning of incense,¹ and the amulet to guard against possible evil consequences from the presence of the goddess on earth. The best categorical example of this sequence is to be found in the greater Paris Papyrus v. 2441 ff.² The complex nature of the *ἐπίκουρα* should be especially noted.

"Taking a field mouse, kill it in spring water, and taking two beetles, kill them in river water; take a river crab, the fat of a young spotted goat, the dung of a dog-faced baboon, two ibis eggs, two drachms of storax, two drachms of myrrh, two drachms of crocus, two drachms of Italic cyperos,³ two drachms of uncut frankincense,⁴ and an onion without side sprouts. Throw all this⁵ into a mortar with the field mouse, and the rest, and pounding it up well, keep it for an emergency, putting it in a lead box. And whenever you wish to perform (*ποιήσαι*) take a little, and preparing coals go up on the roof of a high house,⁶ burn the incense, saying these words

1. Sometimes a tablet is deposited, for the purpose of calling up the spirits of the underworld.

2. Edited separately by R. Wünsch, „Aus Einem Griechischen Zauberpapyrus, Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, Bonn 1911. The numbering followed throughout for this papyrus is that of Wessely.

3. Cf. Pliny, N.H. 21,115.

4. The plants.

5. The animals.

6. To be near the moon.

(τὸν λόγον τοῦτον) at the rising of the moon, and she will immediately appear." The λόγος then follows. It takes the form of a *ἑισβολὴ πρὸς σελήνην*, an accusation against the woman who is the object of the charm, charging her with slandering the moon.¹ "Go to her, take away her sleep, make her soul burn within her, cause her mental torment and frenzy, and pursuing her from every place and every house bring her to me." After a short digression we have the *αὐλοκτῆσιον*. "Here is an amulet which will prevent her from falling upon (καταπεσεῖν) you. For the goddess is accustomed to snatch up into the air those who perform this action without an amulet, and to cast them from the roof to the ground. And so I thought I had better give warning beforehand about the amulet, that you might perform all in order. Do this secretly: take a piece of papyrus devoted to sacred purposes,² and wear it about the right arm with which you are about to burn the incense."

This is in general the sum of the magic action for the papyri. The charm is complete in every particular. When we come to the literature we can detect the same

1. In the papyri a woman is always the object of the charm, whereas in the literature it is a man with one exception, Lucian, *Philops.* 14. This charm is calculated to bring down the moon, who will then pursue the woman until she returns to her lover.

2. *ἱερωτικὸν κόλλημα* = *chartam hieraticam*.

parts, but in a vastly changed form. In fact it is difficult to find them all in the same place. In the second idyll of Theocritus we have an approximation, and indeed Att thinks that here all four are present.¹ The incense offering in v.33 νῦν θύω τὸ πύτυον, the invocation in v.10 ff. ὁλλὸ στελόν, εἴνε κολόν, the action in v.18 ff. ὁλλ' ἐπίποσε, εἰστυλί, 23 ff., 28 ff., the amulet v.36. τὸ χαλκίον ἄς τόπος εἶναι. But it is very doubtful whether the burning of the πύτυον should be thought of in the light of an incense offering. The only reason for thinking so, as far as I know, is that Hecate appears immediately after, and in the papyri the appearance of the goddess is the direct result of the incense offering. But the structure of the poem, and the symbolic use of barley, laurel, and wax in the preceding strophes, lead one to believe that the burning of the bran is also symbolic of the fire of love, which is to be aroused in the heart of Delphis. In the case of all four parts of the incantation the centre of gravity has shifted. Nowhere outside of the eighth satire of the eighth book of Horace do we find a recipe for incense which in any way answers to that of the above charm, and here we may assume that Horace is influenced much more than other writers by the papyri or a like source.² It is safe to say, I think,

1. R.V.V. IV, p.314 n.

2. Many reasons for this assumption will be given later. It will be shown that Horace has followed the papyri, or the popular tradition of magic, and that the four essential parts of the action are clearly discernible in his treatment.

that the calling of the goddess to one's aid by a simple incense offering is not in vogue outside of the panyri. The use of a formal invocation, so frequent in the panyri, where it usually takes the form of a hymn to the goddess, often Orphic in origin, is also found in Theocritus, but when we turn to later writers we find in general that its place is taken by the statement that certain deities came to the assistance or were called to the assistance¹ of the practitioner. In the eighth Eclogue of Vergil, we are merely told that incantations have the power to draw down the moon, and left to imagine the rest. There is also a shift in connection with the magic action. In the panyri it is chiefly taken up with the burning of incense, designed to bring down the moon or Hecate to the aid of the magician; in the literature there is a great variety of action, most of which may be classed under the name symbolic, and all designed by its own power to bring back the recreant lover, without the direct intervention of the deity. The amulet, too, is of a different nature. In fact it is not an amulet in the sense of being something which is worn about the person. In Theocritus it is the striking of bronze as a protection against Hecate; in other places it is merely snitting² to avoid the evil connected with the charm.

1. Verg. Aen. IV, 510-511; Hor. Sat. I, 8, 33-34; Lucian, Philons. 14.

2. Ciris 372. Tib. I, 2, 54 cf. Tib. I, 2, 97; Persius II, 33-34; Petronius 131.

The explanation of this difference is to be found largely in the part which the deity plays in the forwarding of the purpose of the magician. In the charm outlined above the moon is called down from the sky and sent to pursue the recreant from every place and every house until she returns to her lover.¹ In Paris Papyrus 2714 ff. Hecate is called up, and the shades with her are told to go and bring the desired person.² In Paris Papyrus 296 ff. the demon of the dead, in whose grave a tablet has been deposited, is called up from below, and instructed to go everywhere and bring the recreant.³ The magic papyrus of the British Museum CXXL contains charms of the same general nature. We may compare lines 319-334, where we have a spell for procuring the personal appearance of a deity and lines 727-739, where we have a spell for procuring an appearance of Apollo in person. From these examples it is sufficiently clear that it is the personal intervention of the goddess which is particularly to be desired in the prosecution of a love charm. The goddess herself is sent after the woman whose presence is desired, or some of the shades who follow in her train are pressed into service, and the object of the spell is

1. In Par.Pap. 2786 ff. the moon is again called upon.
2. This with the assistance of the gods.
3. Cf.Par. Pap.1467. The shades of the dead come up.

hounded from place to place until she has no alternative but to succumb to the power of the spell. It should be noted also that the god or spirit which comes under the influence of the magician through an incense offering must do his will implicitly and cannot go away until the business at hand is completed. The locus classicus for this is an invocation to Aphrodite found in Paris Papyrus 2242-¹ 2343. This hymn abounds in assertions of supremacy over the goddess, and in asseverations that she must do the will of the magician whether she wishes to or not. In the same papyrus v.2903 ff. the threat is made that Adonis will be bound in adamantine fetters, and not allowed to come up from Hades to be with Aphrodite, unless she complies with the request of the magician. The demon of the dead above mentioned is told that he may go back to his rest, only when he has fulfilled the purpose for which he has been evoked.

This then is the key to the papyri. The mainspring of the action is the presence of the goddess, or the shades. Incense and invocation bring this about, and the amulet is a prophylactic against possible evil consequences. Everything is subservient to the one end, and the whole action is simple, direct, effective and so especially suited to the purpose of the magician. But the limitations of the papyri are obvious enough, if they are considered in the light of sources for complex literary presentations. Cer-

1. Cf. Wessely l.c. v.31-3.

tain of their phases, in a modified form prove useful to the artist, but the modification is so great that the centre of interest is completely changed. The presence of the deity is in the literature only a secondary motive. She is not thought of as taking any leading part in the action, except to be present in order that she may strengthen the working of the charm. As we shall see, the means which are used in the papyri to bring her from heaven are in the literature used directly against the person who is to be cast under a spell. The various acts of magic which are employed to coerce the god to the aid of the sorcerer are sovereign of themselves against the object of the spell. The magician uses the ordinary channels of religious approach to the gods, in order that he may get into connection with them. This done he proceeds immediately to his magic acts, and works through the deity rather than by the deity.

rites and ceremonies.

Sacrificial cleanliness is above all things important in magic rites. When Medea is about to renew the youth of the old man Aeson, Jason's father, Ovid, *Met.* VII. 179 ff.,

egreditur tectis vestes induta recinctas,
nuda pedem, nudos umeris infusa capillos,

and later, stretching up her arms to the stars,

ter sumptis flumine crinem
inroravit aquis,

and still later, when about to begin the sacrifice,

et tantum caelo tegitur, refugitque viriles
contactus.

As the magician of Vergil's Eclogue stands in readiness to begin her magic practices the first thing she orders her attendant to do is to bring forth lustral water. In religious usage this water came preferably from a flowing spring or stream, or from the sea, which washes away all the ills of men.¹ Vergil does not specify in the Eclogues whence the water came, but he is more explicit in the Aeneid,²

sparserat et latices simulatos fontis Averni.

In Africa real Avernus water was not obtainable, and it

1. Rohde, *Psyche* 1st ed., p.362, n.1; Eurip., *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1167.

2. IV.512; cf. *Anth. Lat.*, 384, 21 .. 'rore stygias'.

is characteristic of magic practices that the false is substituted for the true, when the true cannot be procured.¹ Horace, Ep.V.25, represents Sagana as using real Avernus water,

at expedita Sagana per totam domum
spargens Avernalis aquas.

This ceremony is analagous to the purification by Aeneas of his men after the burial of Misenus, Aen.VI.229, and the connection between the two is obvious. Both are performed in the service of the gods of the lower world; the purpose of both, as has been long recognized,² is to keep off the evil influences consequent upon the actual presence of these gods. In all commerce with these impurity is implied and the contamination must be washed away with water.

One of the marks of purity in Greek and Roman ritual is the custom of going naked during the performance of religious ceremonies. But cleanliness is perhaps not the explanation here. Religion and magic are conservative and hark back always to earlier days. New things are always looked upon with suspicion by a primitive race, and it is likely that even after the use of clothing came into general use, it was laid aside by the priest when

1. Aeneid, II.116, Schol.

2. Wächter, Reinheitsvorschriften in Griechischen Kult, R.V.V. IX, p.3. Cf. J.E. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p.161; A. Dieterich, Eine Mithrasliturgie, 2nd ed., p.98.

he was about to perform a sacrifice to the gods.¹ It is of course possible that the idea of impurity lay at the bottom of this custom, and that clothing was supposed to be polluted by the evil influence of the demons who were present. There is also the belief among primitive people that the presence of knots of any kind about them is a bad omen, and that the force of any ceremony is broken unless it is completely free from anything which has a binding effect. This is more particularly true in the case of magic practices, and may in itself account for the belief in the efficacy of nakedness.² Magicians are in general content with naked feet, or even with one naked foot. Hor.Sat.I.8,23,

vidi egomet nigra succinctam vadere palla
Canidiam pedibus nudis passoque capillo.

Verg. Aen.IV.519,

unum exuta pedem vinclis, in veste recincta.³

Pictorial representation, however, shows two women entirely naked, in the act of drawing down the moon.⁴ Magic

1. C.Weinhold, Zur Geschichte des heidnischen Ritus, Abh. d.Berl.Ak. 1896, p.1 ff; J. Heckenbach, De nuditate sacra, R.V.V.IX, part 3, p.1 ff; R. Heim, Incantamenta Magica, Fleckeisens Jahrbucher XIX, 1891, p.507.

2. Wächter l.c. p.24, n.4.

3. Cf. Apoll.Rh. 443; Seneca, Med.753; Ovid, Met.VII.183.

4. Roscher, Selene u. Verwandtes Taf.III.Fig.3.

power seems to be increased if the feet touch the earth,
because the earth is the origin of all magic.¹ Hecken-
bach, l.c., on the basis of Pliny XXIX,31, suggests that
there may be some connection here with popular medicine .
Connected with the idea of nakedness is the magician's
habit of going with hair flowing and clothes unfastened.
It is probably a later stage of the same superstition
We find it commonly at funerals, and in religious rites
of the same general nature.² In magic the superstition
is very persistent, Ovid, Met.VII.257,

passis Medea capillis
bacchantum ritu flagrant circuit aras,

Ovid, Her.VI.89,

per tumulos errat passis discincta capillis,
Tib.I.5,15,

ipse ego velatus filo tunicisque solutis,
vota novem Triviae nocte silente dedi.³

In order that the magic rites may not be hindered, the
boy, whom Canidia and her assistants are about to kill, is
deprived of his bulla and praetexta, 'insignitus raptis
puer', Hor.Ep.V.11. We have perhaps the same underlying

1. Cf. Heckentach, l.c. p.47.

2. Tib.I.3,8; J.Heckenbach, l.c.p.69 ff.

3. Cf. Hor.Ep.V.15, V.28; Ovid, Met.VII.182; Lucan, VI.467,
VI.515.

purpose here as in the other cases mentioned. ¹

Purification is of the utmost importance in getting rid of love. While there is no specific mention of the use of water for this purpose we are led to suspect that this is the explanation of the sacred bough, Nemesianus, IV.65,

2

ter vittis, ter fronde sacra, ter ture vapore
lustravit, cineresque aversa effudit in amnem
incendens vivo crepitantes sulphure lauros.

Tibullus I.5,11 ff. gives an account of a magic lustration for the purpose of restoring health to his mistress Delia,

ipseque te circum lustravi sulfure puro,
carmine cum magico praecinuisset anus:
ipse procurai ne possent saeva nocere
somnia, ter sancta deveneranda mola:
ipse ego velatus filo tunicisque solutis₃
vota novem Triviae nocte silente dedi.

4

Sulphur was evidently very important in this connection. In matters of magic generally it plays a considerable role, being by no means restricted to purification for the purpose of getting rid of anything. In Lucian, Dial.Mer.IV. Bacchis uses it to fumigate the shoes of the man upon whom she desires to cast a spell, and again in Philopseudes 12, the Chaldean who clears the estate of snakes, purifies the

1. It should also be remembered that the bulla is an amulet which would interfere with any magic practice.

2. Cf.Verg.,Aen.VI.229, idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda, spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivae. Laurel was generally used for this purpose; here we have olive.

3. Getting rid of love or of sickness is a matter of purification. In the primitive belief, love is due to magic, in other words it is the possession of a demon, who must be exorcised by purificatory rites.

4. Cf.also Ovid, Rem.Am,260, nec fugiet vivo sulphure victus amor.

ground with sulphur and torches. Medea uses fire, water and sulphur to purify Aeson, Ovid, Met. VII. 261. In Ciris, 369, we have sulphur mentioned along with narcissus and casia, where it is already one of the ingredients of an incense offering.¹ Its use in religion and popular medicine is very old.² It was probably transferred from them to the magic sphere. The torches, which Lucian mentions, if, as is likely, they are of some resinous material, serve the same purpose as sulphur. They are purificatory, and may be used to get rid of anything. In Tib. I. 2, 61, the witch uses them to remove the effects of magic, or to put an end to love, for the one is the result of the other in the sphere of the love charm.³

Salt is another article which is associated with rites of purification. In the dialogue of Lucian referred to above Bacchis throws some on the fire along with the sulphur, and in Lyg. III. 4, 10, it is made use of mixed with spelt to propitiate evil dreams. This of course is the regular combination, most commonly thrown on victims which are about to be sacrificed. Both Dido and the magician of the Eclogue scatter this salted spelt upon the

1. Wünsch, Zur Ciris 369-377, Rhein. Mus. LVII, 1902, p. 468 ff. Wunsch refers to Od. 22, 481, where Odysseus calls for fire and sulphur in order that he may purify his clothes.

2. Cf. Pliny, N.H. XXXV. 174-177; Wünsch, l.c. p. 470; Smith, Tib. I. 5, 11-12 n. and references.

3. The torch has a distinct religious significance. It was commonly used in marriage ceremonies cf. Prop. III. 19, 25, and was prominent in the cult of Diana, cf. Ovid, Fasti, III. 263; Prop. II. 32, 9.

magic altars.¹ The practice is unquestionably religious² in origin and application. The barley groats or barley meal which is burned by the magician in Theo.II.17 is perhaps analogous to the mola salsa. It too is used in sacrifice, Od.14,429, and is strewn upon the meat offering. Again in Od.11,28, it is sprinkled upon the drink³ offering of milk and honey, wine, and water. Theo.II. 33, mentions bran (ρίττωρ) as one of the burnt offerings.⁴ In one other case we have bran used, in what is probably⁵ an initiation into the mysteries.

Despite the fact that plants or herbs are so frequently mentioned in magic love practices, there are very few instances in which we can say that they were used as part of an incense or purificatory^{offering}. But this is used undoubtedly the case in Verg., Ec.VIII.66, where verbenae are thrown upon the altar along with frankincense. These

1. Verg., Ec. VIII.83, Aen.IV.517.

2. Cf. Aen.II.133, salsae fruges, which is the same thing, to be used by Sinon in a religious sacrifice. Pliny, N.H., XVIII.7, Numa instituit deos fruge colere et mola salsa supplicare. See K.F.Smith's note on Tib.I.5,14.

3. Barley is mentioned in Par.Pap.2583, 2586, 2647.

4. Cf. Par.Pap. 2580.

5. Dem., De Cor.259, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβοῦζαν καὶ κρατοῦζαν καὶ καθύμνον τοὺς τελευμένους ἀποιδάτταν τῷ πληῶ καὶ τοῖς πτωχοῖς.

boughs were originally borne by the fetiales¹, Servius says by the fetiales and pater patratus², and were properly sacred plants, taken from a holy place on the Capitoline. Later the name was applied to all sacred boughs, such as laurel, olive or myrtle. Ciris 370 also affords an example of the burning of plants. Here it is narcissus³ and casia. The former, according to Wünsch, is not mentioned in the rest of magic literature, but its connection in folk lore with the lower world and the gods of the lower world makes its use particularly apposite.⁴ Neither does casia appear in the magic literature, but it is mentioned twice in the papyri, as a constituent of an incense offering,⁵ and in one of the cases as sacred to Hermes. By far the most noteworthy instance of the use of incense in the literature is that recorded in Hor., Ep.V.17 ff.,

1. Livy, I.24,6; XXX.43,3; Pliny, N.H. XXII.5.

2. Servius on Aen.XII.120. Cf. also Donatus on Ter., And. 726, sunt omnes herbae frondesque festae ad aras coronandas uel omnes herbae frondesque ex loco puro decerptae. Cf. Hor., Od.IV.11,7; Ovid, Met.VII.242.

3. Cf. Wünsch, l.c. p.469 ff.

4. Cf. Homeric Hymn to Ceres, 8; Soph., Oed. Col. 683 (Jebb); Pliny, N.H. XXI.128.

5. Leyden Papyrus W.I.17; Par.Pap.1309. Cf. Wünsch l.c.

iubet sepulcris caprificos erutas,
iubet cupressus funebres
et uncta turpis ova ranae sanguine
plumamque nocturnae strigis
herbasque, quas Iolcos atque Iberia
mittit venenorum ferax,
et ossa ab ore rapta ieiunae canis
flammis aduri Colchicis.

In no place outside of the papyri do we find so many or such varied ingredients. Each of them as we shall see is especially suitable for use in a love charm. The wild fig tree is chiefly of value because it comes from sepulchres, where it strikes its roots into the cracks in the stones and breaks them open.¹ All things which have anything to do with the dead have great force in magic.² For this reason cypress is also particularly efficacious. Dido uses it in a ceremony which partakes both of the nature of a love charm, and a funeral, Aen.IV.506,

intendit locum sertis et fronde coronat
funerea.

Servius on the Aeneid III.64, commenting on atraque cupressu says that it is black and deadly, and is consecrated to the gods below, because when once cut it never grows green again.³ What the herbs from Iolcos and Hiberia are we are left to guess; we do know that they have a special

1. Persius I.25; Juv.X.145.

2. Fahz, R.V.V.II,p.148 ff.; Lucan,VI.526 ff. Fahz discusses the passage of Lucan in detail. Cf.Pauly-Wissowa, IV.1932 ff.

3. Cf. also Servius on Aen.VI.216.

significance as coming from far distant lands, in the latter case from Pontus, near the home of Medea, the arch-enchantress of antiquity, in the former from Thessaly, which was equally famous in magic lore. If the rana turpis¹ may be identified with the rubeta, which seems likely, we have here an ingredient of especial note. Pliny, N.H. XXXII.51-2, tells of the great aphrodisiac powers which are attributed to certain parts of the rubeta. Propertius, III.6-27, speaks of the ranae portenta rubetae as a constituent part of a love charm.² And when we come to Juvenal the venomous toad turns up as a poison of particular virulence used by the rich matron as a philtre to destroy her husband. Along with the rubeta in both Horace and Propertius, we have mentioned the strix,³ the wings of which seem to have been specially useful in matters of love. It is interesting to note that in Ovid, Met.VII.269, Medea puts both the wings and the flesh of the strix into the cauldron, when she is about to restore Aeson to youth, and it is the viscera that are used as a part of the mixture into which the bridal robe of Creusa is dipped, Seneca, Med.731.

1. Cf. Pliny, N.H., XI.280, 'rana quam rubetam vocant.' Cf. also VIII.110.

2. I.70. Cf. J.E.B. Mayor's note for the antique references, both Greek and Latin.

3. Cf. S.G. Oliphant, The Story of the Strix, trans. of the Am. Phil. Ass. XLIV, 1913, p.133 ff. K.F. Smith's note on Tib. I.5, 52.

Any part of the strix evidently possessed virtue in such a case, and the reason for this is to be found in the fact that it is everywhere the nocturnal bird of ill omen, and is connected with the lower world. It should be noted also that witches very frequently take the form of striges for the purpose of preying on the bodies of both living¹ and dead. The last element in the list of Horace, that is the ossa, or bones, is particularly sought after by witches, especially those who engaged themselves in calling up the dead, and when we consider that the practice is an integral part of a love charm, it is probable that we must think of them in this connection. Such a passage² as Tib.I.2,45 ff. shows this clearly. Lucan,VI.533,tells us that the witch Erichtho was accustomed to snatch bones from the kindled pyre; we may safely infer that they are to be used by her to secure the ghost of their late owner. The witches in Horace, Sat.VIII. gather bones by midnight, and Hypsipyle accuses Medea of gathering bones from the still warm pyre. Especially powerful in a love charm are the bones snatched from the jaws of a hungry dog as here, or from the jaws of a wolf as in Lucan,VI.552.

As we have seen there are many articles which may

1. Ovid,Am.I.8,13; Petronius 63; Apul.,Met.III.21.
2. Haec cantu finditque solum manesque sepulchris
elicit et tepido devocat ossa rogo.

be used as the ingredients of an incense offering; but frankincense proper (tus , *ἄβανος*) is very little mentioned outside of the papyri. Here it is very important, and often employed.¹ Vergil mentions it in Ec.VIII.66,

2
verbenasque adole pinguis et mascula tura.

Here it is merely the preliminary to any religious or magic rite. Nemesianus, IV.63, on the other hand, shows it as part of a purificatory ceremony performed for the purpose of getting rid of love,

ter vittis, ter fronde sacra, ter ture vaporo
lustravit.

Lucan vouches for the fact that it is used at funerals.

funereas aris imponere flammas
gaudet et accenso rapuit quae tura sepulchro.

In the propitiation of the birth-spirit of Messalla, Tib. I.7,53, it is a part of the offering, and indeed the religious use is common enough.³

In a great many magic rites laurel plays a very important role. It is the first thing the maiden Simaetha asks for Theo.II.1,

1. Cf. Fahz l.c. p.17,n.9,10; Abt,R.V.V. IV,p.73.

2. Cf. Fahz l.c. p.17,n.9, and references. Fahz explains 'masculus' by 'non exsectus ideoque masculas'. Abt thinks we should consider also the explanation which Pliny suggests 'masculum aliqui putant a specie testium dictum'. Cf. especially Pliny, XII.61,52.

3. Hor.Od.I.306; I.36,1; Tib.I.3,34,etc.

πρὸς τοὺς δάφνας; πρὸς θέρμας, πρὸς δὲ τὰ φίλτρα;

She explains its use in v.23 ff. This passage has been imitated by Vergil, Ec.VIII.83,

1

et fragilis incende bitumine laurus.
Daphnis me malus urit, ego hanc in Daphnide laurum

The employment of laurel for such a purpose Abt thinks is quite isolated.² He suggests that while in Vergil, as Servius suggests, we have the analogy of the name Daphnis, such an explanation is impossible in Theocritus. Hence he derives the use of laurel in magic from its well known connection with Apollo. Its lustral significance is however of very wide extension,³ and is quite enough of itself to account for its use in magic rites, where the keeping of evil spirits at a distance^{is} of the utmost importance. According to Festus (Paulus) 117 m, laurel is often employed in ceremonies of fumigation. He assigns as one reason for this the fact that it is very dry, a piece of information which well accounts for the frequency with which the crackling of burning laurel is mentioned in literature.⁴ But dry materials leave very lit-

1. Cf. Servius on Verg.Ec.VIII.82.

2. Abt, R.V.V. IV. p.151 ff.

3. Cf. M.B.Ogle, Laurel in Ancient Religion and Folk lore, A.J.P. XXXI,1910, p.289 ff.

4. Cf. Ogle l.c. p.296 ff; K.F.Smith, Tib.II.5,81 n and references.

tle ashes when they burn. So Simaetha burns it as symbolic of the utter extinction of mind and purpose which she wishes to come upon Delphis. When Propertius, II.28,36, desires to imply that with the illness of Cynthia all magic practices have ceased, he says,

et iacet extincto laurus adusta foco.

Nemesianus IV.67, includes laurel among the materials to be used in effacing the effects of magic. In Heliodorus VI.14, the Egyptian witch crowns with laurel and fennel the image which she is about to use in bringing back her son to life. In Apul., Met. III.23, Fotis tells Lucius that he need have no fear about being able to regain his proper form, ' tanta res procuretur herbulis: anethi modicum cum lauri foliis immistum rore fontano datur ¹lavacrum et poculum'.

Wreaths or garlands are very common in magic and religious ceremonies, due to the apotropaic powers which they have against the influence of evil spirits. ²Ordinarily the priest who is about to sacrifice wears them, as is the case in the Papyri, ³and for example in Tibullus I.5,15, ⁴but the more common use in magic, if we

1. Cf. Ogle l.c. p.309, for other examples of the use of laurel in magic.

2. Cf. Abt. l.c. p. 150.

3. J. Pley, De lanae in antiquorum ritibus usu, R.V.V. II. p. 80 ff.

4. Cf. Nemesianus, IV.63, ter vittis, ter fronde sacra, ter ture vapore/ lustravit.

may judge from literary evidence, is for binding altars or utensils or for encircling the places in which rites take place. In Theo.II.2, Simaetha calls to her attendant to twine with wool the cauldron which is to hold the magic brew. Vergil, Ec.VIII.65, has simply molli cinge haec altaria vitta. In Aen.IV.506, Dido encircles the whole place with garlands. Religion too takes cognizance of the binding of altars, significantly, for example, in the cult of the dead, where the spirit of the dead man has to be dealt with.¹ In Prop.III.10,19, we hear of coronatus aras and again in IV.6,6, of a² woolen fillet twined three times about the hearth.

On no account must iron be made use of in a magic ceremony which is in any way connected with the gods.³ Iron doesn't go back to the earliest days; it is a product of later times, and, if used, vitiates any religious or magic act.⁴ Probably this superstition lies at the basis of Erichtho's unwillingness to touch with iron the bodies of her victims, Lucan, Phars.VI.551,

1. Cf. Verg., Aen.III.62 ff. the funeral of Polydorus.

2. Cf. Eurip. Suppl. 32 ff. See also Kauçika-Sûtra, XXXV.9, '(The fire) is surrounded with the wool of a male animal, and the wool is tied (as an amulet) upon the woman' (Bloomfield). The prophylactic force of wool is very clear in this charm.

3. Cf. Dedo, De antiquorum superstitione amatoria, p.12.

4. Tyler, Primitive Culture I.140 and references in n.2.

shows that by bronze is meant the beating of bronze, and two occasions are specified on which this is done viz. during eclipses of the moon and at funerals. This explains the use of bronze in Theocritus. It is struck to keep away the throng which follows in the train of Hecate, the unclean spirits which bring destruction, terror and madness to the inhabitants of earth.¹ The beating of bronze at funerals is in accord with its general apotropaic character. It is to ward off chthonian powers. Most familiar, however, is its use in eclipses of the moon, where the purpose is to scare away the cause of the eclipse, i.e. the monster who is proceeding to devour the moon. It is suggested that perhaps the universal usage in such cases has been transferred to the local Greek theory of the eclipse as due to witchcraft.² Pliny gives us the doctrine as he knew it in later times, N.H.II.54, 'aut in luna veneficia arguente mortalitate, et ob id crepitu dissono auxiliante'. The same idea is expressed by Seneca, Med. 995,

1. Wünsch compares Hippol. Ref. omn. haer. IV.35, where the goddess is spoken of as πύλον ἐνὶ τοῖσι πύλοισι. See Fleckeisens Jahrbücher XXVII, 1902, p.117 ff. Lucian, Philops. tells us that apparitions take flight at the clash of either brass or iron.

2. Cf. K. F. Smith, Tib. I.8, 21-22 n.



inque auxilium, Dictynna, tuum,
pretiosa sonent aera Corinthi.¹

And in general bronze is spoken of as the material in use at eclipses when the magician is credited with being able to draw down the moon to earth.² It is interesting to note as the obverse to this that the magician considers himself in a position to coerce the moon when he can say, 'I have the bronze drum in my power, but I will refrain from using it unless you do as I wish' i.e. there is nothing which can hinder him from conjuring her down from the sky.³

A well known prophylactic against the evil effects of a charm is the custom of spitting. In all its aspects this custom is prohibitive,⁴ but no where more than in medicine, where we probably have its origin. The conception of disease as a possessing demon leads the person who comes in contact with the sick man to take precautions that the demon will not pass into his own body. Especial-

1. Cf. Juv.VI.442; Claudian XXVI,235 ff.

2. Tib.I,8,21; Ovid, Met., IV.333, VII.207, Med. Fac.41; Martial XII.57,16; Livy XXVI.5,9; Tac. Ann.I.28; Plut. Aem. Paul.17; R. Wunsch, Antikes Zaubergegerat aus Pergamon, p.38; Dedo l.c. p.13; Abt, R.V.V.IV,159 ff; Roscher, Selene und Verwandtes, p.89.

3. Par.Pap. 2296 ff.

4. F.W.Nicolson, The Saliva Superstition in Classical Literature, Harvard Studies VIII,1897, 23 ff.

ly is this so in the case of evilensy, the 'comitialis mortus', the 'disease which is spit upon' as Tyndarus calls it, Plautus, Capt.550.¹ To strengthen the effects of the charm by keeping off anything which would interfere with its working, Simaetha warns her handmaid to spit when she smears the herbs on the lintel of Delphis' door, Theo. II.62,

καὶ λέγ' ἐπιρροῦσθαι, τὰ Δελφιδος ὅστις μάρτυρ

The 'saga verax' of Tib.I.2 tells of a charm by which a woman may deceive her husband.

haec mihi composuit cantus, quis fallere posses:
ter cane, ter dictis despue carminibus.

The purpose is as usual to avert something. In Petr.131 spitting is again a prophylactic, 'hoc peracto carmine ter me iussit expuere terque lapillos conicere in sinum quos ipsa praecantatos purpura involverat', and it is undoubtedly of the same general import in Ciris,372,

'ter in gremium mecum' inquit 'despue, virgo,
despue ter virgo.'²

In Theo.VI.39, Damoetas spits three times after boasting of his beauty to avoid the evil eye.

1. Abt, R.V.V. IV.261,n.6. and references. Cf.Pliny,N.H. XXVIII.36, eadem ratione terna despue praedicatione in omni medicina mos est atque ita effectus adiuuare.

2. Cf. R. Wünsch, Zur Ciris v.369-377, Rhein.Mus.IVII, 1902,p.472.

ὡς μὴ βασκανθῇ ὁδὲ, τοῖς εἰς ἐλὼν ἔπτυσσά κ' ἄλπον.¹

Simichidas expresses very well the general function of spitting in Theo.VII.126 when he wishes for himself and Aratus a quiet life and an old crone,

ἥτις ἐπιρρύζουσιν τὰ μὴ καλὰ νόστιν ἐρύκοι.

After the lustration of Mopsus in Nemesianus IV.62 ff., the ashes are taken and thrown away into the river,

lustravit cineresque aversa effudit in amnem.

The destruction of what remains is a necessary part of any purificatory act, and here it is a question of ridding Mopsus of love by the usual lustrative process. This same ceremony, which is clearly one of purification has been introduced by Vergil into the magic practices of the eighth eclogue. In fact it is the magician's last resource.

fer cineres, Amarylli, foras rivoque fluenti
trans caput iace: nec respexeris. his ego Daphnim
adgrediar: nihil ille deos, nil carmina curat.

It has been suggested that by this act is symbolized the² utter destruction of Daphnis, but this is unlikely in view of its distinct ceremonial meaning. There is also

1. Cf. Persius, Sat. II.33; Pliny, N.H. XXVIII.35; O. Jahn, Ber. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. Leipzig Phil. Hist. Class, VIII, 1855, p. 28 ff.

2. Cf. Conington's note on v. 102. The suggestion is made by Voss.

the question of the reference in the word his. Most naturally it would refer to cineres, but there is no point in approaching Daphnis in this way and we are forced to go back to herbas and venena mentioned in v.94. It is scarcely likely that the herbas and venena are thought of as being burned. They generally form the contents of a love potion in this sphere of literature. It seems most probable that Vergil has introduced the above passage without considering what particular bearing it has on magic practices, and without reference to what precedes. We may have here a case of contaminatio, and these lines may be a reminiscence of Theo.XXIV.91,

ἦτοι δὲ συλλέξουσιν κύνιν πρὸς ἀντιπύλῳ τις
 δειψύτη ἐν ἰάτρῳ πᾶσιν ὑπὲρ ποταμῶν πύουσα
 ὀψύχους ἐς πέτρῳ ὑπερούσιον, θῦ δὲ νέεσθαι
 ἄστροπτος·

This is the advice of Tiresias for purifying the house after the killing of the snakes which Hera has sent against the young Heracles. It is the last act of purification and Vergil seems to have transferred it to his poem, also to complete the magic ceremony. But such a completion is entirely out of place under the circumstances. The refuse is cast away in both cases with eyes averted for fear of meeting the evil spirit, or irritating him by

appearing to watch his actions.¹ The same thought is expressed in Aesch. Choeph.98,

στείχῃ, καθόμοιαι' ὅς τις ἐκπέλωας, πάλιν
δίκρυσσά τεύχος ἁστοόφροισιν βυμβασιν.

This motive appears in other places. Odysseus for example is instructed to throw the scarf which Leucothea gave him back into the sea without turning around, and when Oedipus is about to perform an expiatory rite on entering Attica, the chorus tells him to speak inaudibly and then retire² without looking behind.

Two conclusions are inevitable from the foregoing pages. In the first place the sacrificial practice and paraphernalia of magic are practically all borrowed from religion, or if not borrowed from it are thoroughly in accord with its usages. In the second place the magic ceremonial is concerned altogether with purification for the purpose of avoiding or removing any untoward defilement which might be caused by the contaminating presence of the deities of the lower world, i.e. it is entirely

1. Cf. G.C.W.Warr, The Oresteia of Aeschylus, note on Choeph.98.

2. Hom.Od.V.349; Soph.Oed.Col.489; Hom.Od.X.528, cf. Ovid, Fasti VI.164; Forbiger, note on Verg.Ec.VIII.101. Cf. the Roman habit of covering the head during sacrifice, Verg., Aen.III.405 ff.

prophylactic. In the primitive conception which we see exemplified in the magic papyri, the purpose of the magician was to coerce the gods to earth, and to act through their personal intervention. Later this was replaced by a complicated ceremonial of a religious and prophylactic nature destined to put the practitioner in communication with the gods, who took no part in the magic operation other than to give it efficacy and power.

DRAWING DOWN THE MOON

The deity par excellence of all magic love practices is the moon goddess, the mighty demon of the night, Selene in the sky, Artemis on earth, and Hecate beneath the earth. ¹ Nothing is so much desired by the magician as her presence, and his chief care is that the preliminary sacrificial ceremonies shall be complete in every detail, and that there shall be nothing about them which will arouse the enmity of the goddess. Once she is in the power of the magician, his success is assured. She cannot escape him, but must do his will to the end. The last act he performs is to dismiss her. As we have seen, the power which compels the moon goddess to the service of the magician in the papyri is the ἐπίθυνο, which is burned with the appropriate invocation. Once ² present she may be sent herself after the person desired, or some of the shades which follow in her train may take her place, ³ more usually the latter. It is in fact as mistress of the shades that she is so much in demand. The demons of the dead are the executors of the commands

1. In general she may be called Hecate-Selene, in magic at least. On the one hand she is the peaceful goddess ~~of the goddess~~ of the night, who presides over the affairs of lovers, on the other the mistress of the shades, who comes up from Hades to be present at magic rites. It is impossible to keep the two functions apart.

2. Par. Pap. 2486 ff.

3. Par. Pap. 2730 ff. In Papyrus of the British Museum CXXI the moon goddess is called upon to send δγγελοι.

of the magicians, and more especially those which have no rest in Hades, the *δαίμονες* and the *ετοιόθρονοι*.¹ Sometimes the *νεκροφύγονες* or *εἴδωλο* are themselves called up, but the presumption is that they come with their mistress.

It is a part of the popular view that the moon is the goddess of unlucky lovers, especially of women. The Scholiast on Theocritus, II.10, quotes Pindar to the effect that among lovers, men pray to the sun, women to the moon, and Euripides represents Phaedra as imploring the moon to help her win the love of Hippolytus.² The reason for this is two fold. In the first place the night time is particularly suited for everything which has to do with love,³ and in the second place the moon could look on with a sympathetic eye, because of her own love affair with Endymion.⁴ Both ideas are well expressed in a passage from the fourth book of Apollonius of Rhodes.⁵

1. Cf. Par. Pap. 1390 ff. *ἀγέρῃ ἐπὶ ἡμέρῃ ᾧ κρυπτοῦσθαι ἢ εἰσέραι.*

2. See Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* n.390. Also Hesychius s.v. *οὐκονίς οἴε*. Cf. the pathetic plaint of the deserted lover, Anth. Pal. V.16. For additional examples cf. Roscher, *Selene und Verwandtes*, p.75, n.76.

3. Roscher, l.c. p.76, n.295.

4. Roscher, l.c. p.101.

5. IV.56 ff., Seaton's translation.

The moon is addressing Medea, who has stolen away from her father's house to meet Jason. "Not I alone then stray to the Latonian cave, nor do I alone burn with love for fair Endymion; oftentimes with thoughts of love have I been driven away by thy crafty spells, in order that in the darkness of the night thou mightest work thy sorcery at ease, even the deeds dear to thee."

A clear night with the moon shining is the most favorable time for gathering herbs to be used in magic rites, especially the night of the full moon, or of the new moon. Medea gathers herbs, Met. VII.180, when the moon has reached its fullest. Priapus complains that he can't hinder witches from collecting bones and noxious plants as soon as the moon has shone out, Hor.Sat.I.8, 21. Leucippe spends the night in the country *ἑσπέρῃ ὥρῃ*, in order that she may be able to relieve the love of Melitta.¹ Pliny says in connection with the mistletoe, 'quidem id religione efficacius fieri putant prima luna collectum e robore sine ferro.' No doubt connected in some way with this is the belief that the moon gives² magic power to herbs by shedding a poison on them. This is the 'virus lunare' of Lucan VI.669, alluded to earlier in v.505,

et patitur tantos cantu depressa labores
donec suppositas propior respumet in herbas.

1. Achill. Tat.V.25. Cf. Anon.de Herb.169,10, Didot's Buc.et Did.

2. The moon causes madness and epilepsy, cf. the reference given by Dedo, l.c. p.3.

a variation of Seneca, Medea, 790,

Thessalicis
vexata minis caelum freno
propiore legit.

The moon is brought nearer to the earth by the spell of the magician that she may shed this slime upon the plants which are to be collected, and endow them with magic power. The witch's control over the ways of the moon may be paralleled in Apoll.Rh. III.532, where Argus says of Medea,

δοιοό τε καὶ αἰνῆς ἱερῆς ἐπέεσσιν κελεύθους.

But the most pervasive phase of the connection of the moon goddess with magic is in literature, as in the papyri, the belief that she comes to earth to be present and give efficacy to the magician's rites. This thought evidently had a strong hold on the imagination of ancient writers. In addition to the numerous references to it in Greek and Latin literatures beginning as early as Aris-
2 3
tophanes, it is the theme of a mime of Sophron, and
4
of the Thettale, a lost play of Menander, the former as

1. Cf. v.833, adde venenis stimulos, Hecate.

2. Clouds, 749.

3. Kaibel, Com.Graec. Frag. p.154 ff. has the fragments of the play. It is discussed in its relation to the second idyll of Theocritus by R. Wunsch, Fleckeisens Jahrbucher für Philologie, XXVII, 1902, p.111 ff.

4. Pliny, N.H. XXX,7, Menander quoque litterarum subtilitate sine aemulo genitus Thessalam cognominaret fabulam complexam ambages feminarum detrahentium lunam.

far as we know, the oldest example of the dramatization of the moon charm.

Theocritus, as we should expect, on account of the connection of the second idyll¹ with the mime keeps quite close to the popular conception, and has more in common with the panyri than later writers. The moon goddess takes a very prominent part in the developments. She is invoked v.10 ff. as Selene the peaceful goddess of the night, to whom maidens sing their song of grief, and as Hecate, the dread goddess of hell,² at whom the dogs tremble while she passes over black blood and the graves of the dead. She is asked by Simaetha to accompany her and to make her charms no less potent than those of Circe, Medea or Perimede. She is addressed in v.33 as Artemis, who can stir adamant, and anything else that is firm, evidently a reference to the belief that Hecate breaks the gates of hell.³ With v.34 Simaetha breaks off dramatically in the middle of a sentence, and calls to Thestylis that the dogs are baying throughout the town, a sign that Hecate is at the cross roads. It is the moon whom Simaetha addresses when

1. Scholia on Theo. II.70 and hypothesis.

2. Cf. Par. Pap. 2544, 2856.

3. Par.Pap. 2719, καὶ ἡ δειομένης ποῦλος καὶ τοῦ ὀδονοῦτος Cf. Par. Pap. 2261, 2532.

she is about to tell of her love and throughout the account in the intercalary. At the end of the idyll the moon is dismissed, a reminiscence perhaps of the practice in the papyri of sending away the deity when the spell is over.¹ We can feel throughout the whole piece that the goddess is present and plays a very important role in the forwarding of the action. Neither she nor any of her train are sent to bring back Daphnis; but her presence give force and effectiveness to the performance of the charm.

It is a long call from Theocritus to Lucian, but the latter has more in common with Theocritus and the papyri in this matter than any of the intervening writers. In Philops. 14 both the moon and Hecate appear on earth, accompanied by Cerberus, and various apparitions. A clay Eros is made and sent after Chrysis - Lucian's variation of the sending of the demon of the dead to plague her. When the charm is over at daybreak and there is no longer any need of the gods or their followers they disappear each to his respective place. Interesting here are the different shapes which the moon takes during her stay on earth, first a woman, then a cow, then a dog, probably due to the same thing that gives nightly visions their varying forms.²

1. Cf. Par. Pap. 3122, ὁπότε δέσποτο κόσμου προσηύχετο καὶ ὑστέρων εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους τόπους ἵνα συντηρηθῇ τὸ πόν. Ἰλαὰς τὴν, κύβηε.

2. Cf. Arist. Frogs, 293 ff. and Scholia. Empusa causes terror to Dionysus by her various transformations. J. Heckenbach, De nuditate sacra, p.35. R.V.V. IX, part 3.

After Theocritus the theme of the drawing down of the moon takes on a different aspect. In Vergil we might have expected from his close connection with Theocritus that he would make more of the intervention of the moon in magic practice. But he satisfies himself with stating among a catalogue of magic stunts,

carmina vel caelo possunt deducere Lunam.

This is of course entirely in keeping with the artificial character of the Vergilian Eclogue. It is true that when Vergil comes to the Aeneid he puts a little more life into his magic and Dido invokes the three-fold Hecate to her assistance. Still we can feel that the goddess means much less then before and that she takes less part in the action. Drawing down the moon is merely the fixed attribute of the magician, a great one, it is true, but in many cases relegated to a position of secondary importance, by being mentioned along with other attributes of minor interest.

Its wide extension, however, shows that it is regarded as the height of the magician's power, and this is very natural when we consider how great a role it plays in the *nagyri*, and so probably in the popular mind. Medea the arch-witch of antiquity drives the moon away by her spells,¹ Circe obscures her features by magic song,²

1. Apoll.Rh. IV.59. Cf. Ovid, Her. VI.85.

2. Ovid, Met. XIV.367.

Angitia is said to have taught the secret to the Marsian youth.¹ The great witches of the Augustan age, Folia,² Canidia,³ Acarthis,⁴ and Cynthia⁵ have this power. But⁶ it is above all a characteristic of the Thessalian woman. Medea is very frequently associated with Thessaly in folklore, and the association probably led to the explanation which is given by the Scholiast on Aristophanes, Clouds, 747 that the fame of Thessaly in magic lore is due to the fact that Medea dropped a box of herbs on this country as she fled from Jason. The word Thessalian was long synonymous with anything connected with sorcery or witchcraft.⁷ Sosiphanes in his Meleager⁸ tells us apropos of this that every Thessalian maiden is credited with being able to bring down the moon. In Aristophanes, Clouds, 749, when Strepsiades wishes to put off the coming of the first of the month so that he will not have to pay his

1. Sil.Ital., VIII.498 ff.; cf. Solinus II.28 (p.42 Mommsen), C. Coelius Neetae tres filias dicit Angitia, Medeam, Circen.

2. Hor. Lp. V.45.

3. Hor. Ep. XVII.77.

4. Prop. IV.5,13.

5. Prop.II.28,37.

6. Roscher has given a full list of the passages which refer to this in Selene und Verwandtes, p.88,n.346.

7. Pliny, N.H. XXX.6,7.

8. Scholiast on Apoll.Rh. III.533.

deits it is a Thessalian woman whom he proposes to getto
conjure down the moon.

Throughout the surviving literature drawing down¹
the moon is very often associated with the eclipse. This
association probably comes very early. The Scholiast on
Apoll.Rh. III.533, says that 'in ancient times the witches
were supposed to draw down the sun and moon. For that
reason until the time of Democritus many called an eclipse
a "drawing down".' If we are looking for an explanation
of this connection, we may suppose that it arose in some
such way as would be indicated by the story of Aglaonice
told in the Scholia on Apoll.Rh. IV.59. 'Aglaonice, the
daughter of Hegemon, being skilled in astrology, and
knowing when an eclipse of the moon was about to happen,
at that time pretended that she drew down the moon.'² This
would lead people to believe that the eclipse was due to
witchcraft. In all probability, however, this story was
invented afterwards to explain how the popular view arose.
Whatever the explanation was the aspect of drawing down
the moon was seized on with much avidity by writers of
later times, and was frequently alluded to as well as
specifically mentioned.³

1. Cf. K.F. Smith, Tib. I.8,21-2.

2. Cf. Plut., De defect. orac.13, for the same story.

3. Ovid,Met. VII.207; Am.II.5,36; Med. Pac. 41; Rem.Am.
268. Tib.I.8,21; Mart. XII.57,16; Juv.VI.442; Pliny,N.H.
II.54; Claudianus, XXVI.235 ff.; Seneca, Phaed. 796 ff.;
Medea, 795. Cf. Ovid, Am. I.8,12; Hor.Sat.I.8,35; Seneca,
Medea,789; Lucan,Phars.501; Claud.in Ruf.I.146.

The compelling force is in most cases the power of
 'carmina', incantations, chanted by the witch.¹ In Martial,²
 however, it is the turning of the rhombus, 'secta Colcho
 Luna vapulat rhombo', which was according to indications³
 originally used for the purpose of coercing the moon.
 The theme of drawing down the moon, which is so preponder-
 ant in the papyri, and has such a place in Theocritus, is
 in Vergil barely mentioned, and in other writers is a
 mere conventional attribute of any witch or sorcerer.⁴

1. Verg. *Eccl.* VIII.70; Ovid, *Met.* XII. 263, XIV.367; *Am.*
 II.123, II.5,38; Tib. I.8,21; Hor.*Ep.* v.45, XVII.78; Prop.
 IV.5,13; Petronius, 134; Claud. in *Euf.* I.146; Nemesianus,
 IV.70.

2. XII.57,16. Cf. IX.29,9.

3. See discussion of the lynx.

4. Allusions to the drawing down of the moon not already
 mentioned are: Prop. I.1,19; Seneca, *Herc.Oet.* 523; *Philos.*
 v. Apoll. VIII.7; Plut. *Coniug. Praec.* 48; *Prov.Alex.* 113;
 Scholiast on Plato's *Rep.* 513 A; *Hierolag.* IV.35; Anth.
 Pal. (Riese) 483.

THE IMAGE AND THE IYNX.

Of the various acts of sympathetic magic perhaps the most striking and widespread is the use of an image or effigy to represent the person upon whom a spell is to be cast. This image takes the place of the object of the spell, and the actions performed on it are symbolic of what will happen to its model, if the ceremonial is correctly and successfully performed. It is burned on the magic altar, or pierced through the heart, or twined about with threads, and a corresponding result follows in the case of the person whom it represents.¹

It is extremely unlikely that an effigy of this kind is to be thought of in the description of the magic practices in the second idyll of Theocritus. Any attempt to read this into the line,

ἀε τοῦτον τὸν κηρὸν ἐγὰρ οὖν δοίμενι τέκε,

rests for its success entirely upon the fact that in most cases wax was the material used for that purpose,- naturally enough, because of its pliable qualities,- and upon the supposition, that it is here Vergil gets his idea for an image in the eighth eclogue.² But Vergil doesn't always follow Theocritus, and the mere mention of wax doesn't necessarily presuppose an image. When we come to Vergil

1. Cf. K.F.Smith, Hastings's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics s.v. Magic; H.Hubert, Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. Magic, p.1517 ff.

2. Cf. Diod. De antiqua^{num} superstitione aratoria, p.27 "f.who

we have a different proposition. One image is specifically mentioned as being carried about the altar. Possibly it is to be conceived of as made of wool, which would explain the circumambulation.¹ But the crux of the question comes when Vergil in v.81 says,

limus ut hic durescit et haec ut cera liquescit
uno eodemque igni, sic nostro Daphnis amore,

and the problem arises whether the limus and cera are anything more than pieces of clay and wax, which are put into the fire like the laurel, the mola and the litumen. They may of course be construed as images, - and in fact the scholiast takes them as such,² - but on the face of things they are not, and it is better to take the explanation given above. The whole thing is a perfectly good piece of symbolic magic as it stands. Daphnis is supposedly under the spell of another woman. The maiden wishes that as the clay grows hard and the wax soft in the same fire, so he may grow hard toward her rival, and soften toward herself.³ This is a Vergilian turn and expresses within a small compass the purpose of the whole

arises from the very common use of the effigy in such situations. See also A. Alt, Die Apologie des Apuleius, Religions-Geschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten IV, p.79 ff.

1. In this case a prophylactic ceremony. Cf. Sutphen, Studies in Honor of F.L.Gildersleeve, p.320, n.8.

2. Servius thinks of two images, one of clay, one of wax; the Berne Scholiast of three, one of wood, one of clay, one of wax. But neither can be regarded as an authority.

3. Cf. Servius on v.81.

incantation so well that it is unnecessary to suppose that any hidden allusion lurks underneath. The mention of the one image may be taken as purely conventional, and in accordance with the general aspect of the poem.

Horace's treatment of this motive, Sat. I, 8, 30 ff. is much bolder, and of much greater interest.¹

larea et effigies erat, altera cerea; maior
larea, quae poenis comperceret inferiorem;
cerea suppliciter statat servilibus ut quae
iam peritura modis.

The greater Paris Papyrus is the best commentary on this passage, 296 ff. The charm is called *αὐλοκοκοτόδεσμος* *θεουκοτός*.²

"Take clay from a potter's wheel, and make two figures, one male, one female. Arm the first one as Ares, holding a sword in the left hand, threatening her right collar bone, but make her with arms bound behind the back, and ³τὴν οὐσίον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὀρεῖς ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ τοσγῆλου. The female figure is then pierced with thirteen needles, and the two figures are placed in the grave of an *θάκος* or a *θείκος*. The male figure represents the demon of the dead, which is called forth from the grave to nur-

1. Cf. H. Düntzer, *Jahrbücher für Philologie*, CXLV, 1892, p. 597 ff.; E. Reiss, *Rhein. Mus.* XLVIII, 1893, p. 307 ff.; E. Kuhnert, *Feuerzauber Rhein. Mus.* XLIX, 1894, p. 45 ff.

2. Cf. Kuhnert, l.c. I have followed the text as established by Kuhnert.

3. Cf. E. Riess, l.c. n. 309, n. 2.; E. Kuhnert, l.c. p. 45, n. 6.

sue the woman represented by the other figure, until she returns to her lover. The analogy is clear enough. Horace has introduced into a simple piece of symbolic magic the additional motive of calling up the demon of the dead to aid the magical practitioner. Later as in v.43 we have,

et imagine cerea
largior arserit ignis,

which means that Horace has in mind all the time the usual disposition of the image of wax. We do not need to concern ourselves about what is done with the other image. It may be thought of as being thrown into the ditch for the purpose of calling up some one from the lower world. In all probability Horace never as much as considered¹ what should be done with it.

Only with the aid of the nabyri can we explain the use of the clay Eros in Lucian, Philops.² 14. Glaucias is in love with Chrysis, and is introduced by his teacher to a Hyperborean wizard, who is to compel Chrysis to come to him by means of magic incantations. The wizard summons Glaucias' father, who is dead, and gains his consent. Hecate, Cerberus and the moon appear and finally a clay puppet is fashioned and ordered to go and fetch Chrysis. It goes off and soon Chrysis stands before the door. The clay puppet plainly answers to the demon of

1. Horace has mixed two operations here. Kiessling is probably right in referring 'movere cereas imagines' of Horace, Ep. XVII, 76, back to the eighth satire. The wax image takes the exact place of the person it represents, and is so endowed with life and the ability to move.

2. Cf. L. Radermacher, Aus Lucians Lügenfreund, Festschrift für Th. Gomperz, v. 197 ff., especially 200 ff. Radermacher points out that there is little difference between the god and the image.

the dead which is ordinarily sent on such a mission in the papyri, and Lucian has given us an interesting variation of the popular practice. It is to be noted that a woman is the object of the charm here, as is always the case in the papyri; as far as I know this is the only example in the literature.

A comparison of the passages in Ovid which refer to the use of an effigy shows plainly that he was thoroughly acquainted with the popular conception embodied in the papyri.

Am. III.7,29, sagave poenicea defixit nomina cera
et medium tenuis in iecur egit acus?

Her.VI.91, devovet absentis simulacraque cerea
fingit
et miserum tenuis in iecur urget
acus.

Am.III,7,79, aut te traiectis Aeaea venefica lanis
devovet.

The word devoveo is the regular terminus technicus for devotion to the infernal gods, and the combination of this idea with defixion suggests the deposition of images in graves for the purpose of calling up the demons of the dead. This motive, which is common enough in the papyri, is alluded to here and there in the literature without being emphasized very strongly.

Very often the effigy is twined about with threads which signify the binding of the person whom it represents. This is clear from Verg. Ec. VIII,74,

terna tibi haec primum triplici diversa colore
lilia circumdo terque haec altaria circum
effigiem duco.

They are entrusted to the earth in much the same way as the image is, as an offering to the gods below, or perhaps to earth herself, who is the mother of all magic, and their function is to bring back Daphnis, with the aid of the infernal deities. In Theo.II.53 Simaetha has the hem from the cloak of Delphis, which she shreds and throws into the fire. The analogy with the image burned on the altar is quite clear. Dido places all the tokens of Aeneas on the pyre, Aen. IV.496, quite in accordance with the practice of Theocritus; the priestess of the garden of the Hesperides has told her that this is useful for gaining back Aeneas, or ridding herself of love. The ludicrous story which Anuleius, Met. III tells, illustrates the doctrine that the possession of the part of anything will lead to the possession of the whole. By burning the goats' hair on live coals, with the appropriate ceremonial, the witch Pamphile succeeds in restoring to life and bringing to her door the three goats' skins which the drunken Lucius has taken for robbers and has, as he thinks, so ingloriously slain. In Lucian, Dial.Mer. IV.4 when Bacchis says that to get the recreant Charinus back the witch will require to have something which had once belonged to him, Melitta remembers that she has a pair of his shoes.

Among the instruments commonly used in a love charm is the famous iynx, or magic wheel of the magician.

This iynx was according to some accounts, originally a bird called the wryneck, or iynx torquilla, and gets its name from the movements of its neck, which were as noted in antiquity as in modern times.¹ It is called οεισπονις and κίνοιδος by the ancients,² and this will perhaps account for its use in love charms. Pindar tells us in a well known passage Pyth. IV.213 ff., that when the Argonauts first came to Colchis Aphrodite helped Jason to win Medea by means of an iynx or 'wryneck' fastened to a magic wheel,

πότνιο δ' δευτέρῳ θελέειν
 ποικίλον ἔϋνγο τετράγωνον οὐλομήθεον
 ἐν δαύτῳ θεύξεισσι κύκλῳ
 κινιδέ' ὄνονιν Κυπριόγενειο σέθεν
 ποῦτον ὀνόσποισι, λιτός τ' ἐπειδὴς ἐνδιδύ-
 σκασεν σασόν Μίρονίδον
 θεοο Μηδείας τοκέων θεέλοιτ' οἶδ'ε, ποθεῖνδ' δ' Ἑλλὰς οὐτὸν
 ἐν σροσὶ κοιούμενον θονέει μέστινι Πεισοῦς.

The bird acts as a magic philtre or love charm, and bound upon a revolving wheel attracts to the operator the love of the person upon whom the charm is operated.³ From this the wheel, which has of itself magic power, may come to

1. Cf. Arist. H.A. II.12.

2. Schol. on Theo. II.17, ἡ κίνοιδος, ἡ ποσοῖς Ἑρμοφίσις οεισπονις κολεῖται διὰ τὸ ποντογοῦ στομάειν καὶ λυγίζειν τὸν οὐγένο ἡ τὴν πυγὴν. More recent Scholia have ἔϋνγε ἡ λενομένη οεισπονις, ἔν φροιν ἐν τῇ σῦσει ἔγειν ἐστικτὴν τινα πειδύ.

3. Cf. Anth. Pal. V.205.

be called an ignx, and is in fact so called in Xen.Mem. III.11,17 ff., where the courtesan Theodote wishes to borrow it from Socrates in order that she may use it to draw him to her. This connection between the bird and the wheel is further shown, for example, by Hesychius s.v. ἱγνξ - ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὀρνέον τι ἱγνξ καλούμενον ὅπως εἰσέλθουσιν αἱ ποικιλικαὶ στορέειν. ὡς κοτοκηλούμενοι τοὺς ἐγοπαμένους. ἔστι δὲ καὶ δονεόν τι, ᾧ πρόσκειται τὴν οὐτὴν δύνουσιν ἔγειν. ὅθεν δεσμεύουσι τοῖς τρονύγκοις. . Alexandrian wits busied themselves over the task of providing the wryneck with a suitable myth.² Finally the word ignx came to be applied to any charm or natural attractiveness, and is so used in this sense by the best writers from Pindar downwards.³ The instrument seems to have been used in drawing down the gods to earth.⁴

1. Cf. also Photius, s.v. ἱγνξ.
2. Cf. A.B. Cook, Zeus, Camb.1914, p.257 and notes.
3. Cf. Photius, s.v. ἱγνξ τὸ ἐπὶ ἄλκον τὴν διόνειον εἰς ἐπιθυμίον καὶ ἔστω. It is so used in Pind. Mem. IV.35; Aeschyl. Pers. 988; Diogenes Laert. VI.c.2, 76, etc. Cf. J.B. Bury, Journal of Hellenic Studies VII, 1886, p.157 ff.
4. Euseb. Praep. Evan. V.8, p.193,
τοὺς μὲν ὁποσδήποτε ἔειπεν ἱγνξιν ἐπ' αἵθετος
ἐντὶδώς δέκοντες ἐπὶ γῆνός τε δῖον ἔγασσαν.

On the basis of such passages as the Scholia on Theo.II.17; the Scholia on Pindar, Pyth.IV.380; the statements of Suidas and Photius, and the various points of resemblance in their use, the lynx has come to be identified with the rhombus (ῥόμβος) of which we hear so frequently in Greek and Latin poetry. This instrument is spun rapidly in one direction and its turning is symbolic, for example, in Theo.II.30, of the swift return of the recreant Delphis to his one time mistress Simaetha,

γὰρ δινεῖθ' ὅδε ῥόμβος ὁ γόλκρος ἐξ Ἀσσοδίου,
ἃς τῆνος δινεῖτο παρ' ἀσπετέροισι θύκοισιν.

Dipsas knows its potency, Ovid, Am. I.8,7,

scit bene, quid gramen, quid torto concita rhombolicia, quid valeat virus amantis equae.

When Cynthia is ill the rhombus is no longer spun, Prop. II.28b,35,

deficiunt magico torti sub carmine rhombi.

In Prop.III.6,26,

staminea rhombi ducitur ille rota.

Lucan, Phars. VI.460,

traxerunt torti magica vertigine fili,

1. εἰς γὰρ τροχὸν κείνουν ἐμβολοῦσαι καὶ διὰ ἴκοντος ἐκαστέραςθεν ὀνόμασαι τοῦτο, περιστρέφουσιν δουλοῦσαι τὸν κυκλίσκον ὑπὸ ποδὶος ἐπάρουσαι ὃ θούλονται· ὅτε δὲ ὀνοδινούμενος τούτως τῆκεται, ἐπιλέγουσιν οὐτῶ, εἰ τύναι· ὡς οὗτος τῆκεται ὁ ῥόμβος, οὐτῶ καὶ ὁ ἐνοῦ ἐσὼν τοκείν.
2. λαμβάνουσιν γὰρ οὐτὸ δεσμεύουσιν ἐκ τροχοῦ τινος, ὃν περιστρέφουσιν ὅσο ἐπάρουσαι.

may refer to the rhombus, but there is always the possibility of a reference to threads twisted about an image, as for example, in Verg. Ec. VIII.8,74 ff.

It has been suggested that the threads of which we hear in Ovid and Propertius are the motive power for the turning of the wheel,¹ but a strict interpretation of the passages in question shows that this is not necessary, and that in all probability they are bound on the wheel to increase the magic power.² The drawing power of threads is well known, and their combination with the wheel would make a very potent charm.

There is very probably a reference to the rhombus in Horace, Ep. XVII.7,

citurque retro solve, solve turbinem,

where Horace, recanting, asks Canidia to cease her magic charms. The citur turbinem evidently refers to something which is spun, perhaps something of the nature of a top. There is plenty of evidence to show that one form of the rhombus was a whip top,³ and it is likely that

1. O. Jahn, Ber. d. Sachs Ges.d.Wiss.Phil.Hist.Class.1854, p.527.

2. Cf. Dedo, De antiqua^{καμ} superstitione anatoria, p.18.

3. Schol.on Apoll.Rh.I.1139, δόρυχος τρογύσχος, ὃν στοάσουσιν ἱεῖς τύποντες. Eustath.on Od. p.1387,42 ff., τρογύσχος ἄλλοι τὸν καὶ δόρυχον καλούμενον. ὃν τύποντες ἱεῖς καὶ στοάσαντες ἐποίουν δινεῖσθαι καὶ νότον ἀποτελεῖν.

For a vase painting of such a top driven by a woman with a lash cf. Daremberg et Saglio, Dict.Ant.IV, p.1154, fig.3087. For further references cf. A.B.Cook, Zeus, p.253, n.1. On the top in orgiastic rites cf. Anth. Pal.VI.155,1, and Lobeck Aglaoph., p.699 ff. See A. Lang, Custom and Myth, p.29 and Butler on Prop. II.26b,35, for the view that the rhombus is a 'bull-roarer', i.e. a piece of wood or metal attached to a string, and whirled about in the air.

some instrument of this kind is thought of by the poets, more particularly Horace, who seems either to have been better acquainted with these matters, or to have stuck more closely than others to the popular, as opposed to the literary tradition. That Servius thought of the iynx or magic wheel as some kind of a top is shown by his comment on Verg. Ec. VIII.21, "fecit autem hunc versum ad imitationem Theocriti, qui frequenter dicit in pharmaceutria 'o turbo maritum meum domum adducito', sicut hic in sequentibus 'ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnin'." The same conception is present, even in Pindar, if we look beneath the mythological veneer. Venus teaches Jason the love charm, 'that a longing for Hellas might lash her with the whip of Suasion' (ὀνείχευε δόσινι Παιθεύε), i.e. Medea is a wheel or top lashed by the whip of suasion. The simile is plain enough, and is evidently occasioned by the mention of the iynx.¹ It may be questioned whether the ἰυνξ of the intercalary verse of Theocritus refers to the magic wheel. The scholia of Servius quoted above gives that impression. Vergil, however, has translated the verse by,

ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim, turning ἰυνξ by carmina, but we do not need to think of this as a translation, particularly when we consider the

1. Cf. A.B. Cook, The Gong at Dondona, Journal of Hellenic Studies, XXII, 1902, p.26.

the great role which carmina play in the Vergilian Eclogue and the consequent fitness with which they might be mentioned in the intercalary verse.

It has been noticed that the iynx is credited with the power of drawing down the gods to earth. This is further borne out by two passages in Martial IX.29,9,

Quae nunc Thessalico lunam deducere rhombo,
Quae sciet hos illos vendere lena toros?

and XII.57,17,

cum secta Colcho Luna vapulat rhombo.

The binding of threads on the rhombus is significant here both because of their drawing power and their use in the well known vase painting representing the drawing down of the moon.¹ It is noteworthy that the rhombus is called Thessalian, because Thessaly is the home of those who have the power to draw down the moon. The use of the word 'Colcho' also associates it with Medea who is notorious in this connection. In Par.Pap.2296, the witch considers it a great threat to be able to say to the goddess

1. See Roscher, Selene und Verwandtes, Taf.3, fig.3; J. B. Bury, Journal of Hellenic Studies, VII, 1886, p.157 ff. tries to show that ῥυγῆ originally meant a moon-song, and that it was a song to the moon-goddess Ῥῆ, chiefly on etymological grounds. But cf. A.B. Cook's criticism, Zeus p.253, n.3. There does seem to be some connection between the moon and the iynx in the disputed line of Pindar, Nem. IV,35,

ῥυγῆ δ' ἔλκεται ῥέοι νοσηρὴν ἑνέμεν.

that he has the rhombus in his power and will use it if necessary. Altogether, then it seems likely that the iynx, or rhombus, was originally a moon-charm and that this use was lost sight of in the literary tradition as the theme of drawing down the moon became less and less important. It only turns up in the literature, we may suppose, where some poet is acquainted with the popular tradition of magic. The birding of a wryneck on it would of course make it more specifically a love charm, because of the characteristics of the bird. When Simaetha says

ῥυγέ, ἔλυσ τὸ τῆνον ἑὸν ποτὶ τὸν θυάοο

she is really calling on the moon to come down as a result of the turning of the wheel, and to bring Delphis to her. When Horace says solve turbinem he is calling on Canidia to stop working the moon charm against him. The connection with the moon may be lost sight of, but it is in the background, just as in the case of the image, which in the popular conception of the papyri brings with it the moon or Hecate, and elsewhere may be used independently of the moon goddess to bring about the desired effect. Quite in line with this is what we learn from¹ the Chaldean Oracles, that the action of an instrument

1. Cf. Kroll, *De Oraculis Chaldaicis*, Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen, VII, 1893, p.39 ff. Cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. Ant.* VI. n.1511 s.v. *Magia*.

like the iynx demands the creation of a special demon.
This demon will correspond to the demon which is in so
many cases the executor of Hecate or the moon goddess.¹

1. For various interpretations of the iynx or rhombus.
Cf. O.Jahn, l.c.; R.Dedo, l.c. p.18 ff.; O.Gruppe, Griech-
ische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte, Vol.2, p.851 ff.
A. Abt, R.V.V. IV, p.178 ff. Abt gives the representatives
of the iynx in art. A.B. Cook, Zeus, p.253 ff. Cook,
who is the latest contributor on the subject thinks the
iynx-wheel stands for the sun.

THE LOVE CHARM AND NECROMANCY.

It has long been recognized that there is a very close connection between necromantic practices and the love charm. The literature shows this at every step. But just what the exact connection is only becomes clear after an examination of the magic papyri. Düntzer was able to see very easily why the magician should call Hecate to his aid, but he couldn't see of what use the shades were.¹ Hecate is essential, of course, but as we have seen, the shades are often no less essential, because they act very often as the magician's¹ executors.² It is they who are sent to plague the woman whom the magician wishes to get into his power, until she returns to him. They are evoked, for example, by depositing tablets in the graves of the dead, or they follow in the train of Hecate herself.

Horace gives us an excellent account of necromancy as practiced in a love charm in which Canidia and Sagana are the participants, Sat.I.8,26,

1. Jahrbücher für Philologie, CLXV, 1892, p.597 ff.
2. Par.Pap. 296 ff., 1467 ff., 2730 ff.

scalpere terram
 unguibus et bullam divellere mordicus agnam
 coeperunt; cruor in fossam confusus, ut inde
 manes elicerent, animas responsa daturas.
 lanæ et effigies erat, altera cerea; maior
 lanæ, quæ poenis compesceret inferiorem;
 cerea suppliciter stabat servilibus utque
 iam peritura modis. Hecaten vocat altera, sævam
 altera Tisiphonen; serpentes atque videres
 infernas errare canes, Lunamque rubentem, 1
 ne foret his testis, post magna latere sepulcra.

Horace is presenting a quick, kaleidoscopic view of the magic ceremony, and merely mentions significant points in the action. From the *αἰλτοοκατόρεστος θουμωστός*, which was considered in connection with the use of effigies, it is clear that the image of wool represents the demon of the dead, the image of wax the object of the charm, and that this necromantic ceremonial is for the purpose of calling forth the demon to punish the offender. Hecate is present too, but it is the shades who take the chief part in the action.

The Hyperborean in Lucian, Philops.¹⁴ practices necromancy, but for a somewhat different purpose. He wishes to call up the shade of Glaucias' father, that he may gain his consent to his son's affair with Chrysis. Much more significant is the moulding of a clay Eros, which is ordered to go and fetch Chrysis. Wishing to introduce something novel, Lucian has brought in the puppet, which

1. Cf. E. Reiss, Zu den Canidia-gedichten des Horatius, Rhein.Mus. XLVIII, 1893, 307 ff.; E. Kuhnert, Feuerzauber, Rhein.Mus. XLIX, 1894, 45 ff.

has its parallel in the demon of the dead, usually sent on such errands. The substitution is quite in the author's fashion.

There is no direct mention of necromancy in Theocritus, although the striking of bronze, v.36, may be construed as a prophylactic against the spirits which come up with Hecate. In Vergil the wizard Moeris is said to be able to call forth the dead from their graves with the help of herbae et venena, but just what the ceremony would be here we can scarcely tell. In fact the exercise of power over the spirits of the dead is in the Augustan poets the attribute of any sorcerer, and is frequently mentioned in connection with the love charm.¹ The saga verax of Tib. I.2,44 ff. is plentifully endowed with such power:

fluminis haec rapidi carmine vertit iter,
haec cantu finditque solum manesque sepulcris
elicit et tepido devocat ossa rogo:²
iam tenet infernas magico stridore catervas,
iam iubet aspersas lacte referre pedem.³

The same idea is undoubtedly present in Prop. IV.5,11,

quippe et Collinas ad fossam moverit herbas,
stantia currenti diluerentur aqua.⁴

The prototype for the magic trench, here the fossa, is Od.

1. Verg. Aen. VI.489; Hor. Ep. XVII.79; Prop. IV.5,11; Tib. I.2,45; Ovid, Am. I.8,17, Rem. Am. 253, Met. VII.204.

2. Cf. Ovid, Her. VI.90. This is preparatory to calling up the spirit of their late owner.

3. Cf. I.2,62, 'concidit ad magicos hostia pulla deos', and Smith's note.

4. The meaning of this line is clear from Apul. Met. I.8, and Petronius, 134.

XI.23; the herbs are gathered from a burial ground, and so their use is especially apposite in necromancy. The result is what often happens, when connection is made with the lower world. The ground is split, and rocks stream with running water.

The most usual concomitant of a magic practices involving the calling up of the dead is the stopping, turning aside or the sending of rivers back to their sources. This is always the result of the earthquake which is caused when the magician spits open the ground to afford egress for Hecate and her followers. Verg.Aen.IV.489,

sistere aquam fluviis et vertere sidera retro;
nocturnosque movet manis; mugire videbis
sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos.

Tib. I.2,45, quoted above, is also a good example. It follows from this that the witch is credited with having power over rivers even where there is no mention of necromancy.¹ The earthquake also results in the convulsion of trees and rocks as in Ovid, Met.VII.204,

vivaque saxa sua convulsaque robora terra
et silvas moveo, iubeoque tremescere montes
et mugire solum manesque exire sepulcris.²

The juxtaposition of these natural phenomena with the calling forth of the dead shows the connection. But if fur-

1. Prop.I.1,23; Apoll.Rh.III.532; Ovid, Met.VII.199, Am. I.8,6, II.1,26, Med.Fac.40, Rem.Am. 257, Her.VI.87; Petronius 134,; Val.Flacc.VI.443; Sil.Ital.VIII.500; Seneca, Med.762; Claud.in Ruf.159; Sannazaro, Ec.V.34.

2. Cf.Verg.Aen.IV.491; Ovid, Her.VI.88; Nemesianus, IV. 71; Sil.Ital.VIII.501; Claud.in Ruf.158.

ther evidence is needed it may be found in Seneca, Oed.
549 ff. where we are shown clearly the whole process.
The effect on nature is graphically depicted in v.569 ff.

ter valles cavae
sonuere maestum, tota succusso solo
pulsata tellus.
.....
subsidit omnis silva et erexit comas,
duxere rimas robora et totum nemus
concussit horror, terra se retro dedit
gemuitque penitus.
.....
.....
.....
subito dehiscit terra et immenso sinu
laxata patuit.

Necromancy was originally an integral part of the love
charm. It was necessary to summon forth either a god or
a demon from the lower world to carry out the commands
of the sorcerer. But later when the personal interven-
tion of the deity was more or less forgotten, we find
mentioned only the various manifestations in nature of
the original necromantic presence, viz the splitting of
the ground and the consequent upheaval.

HERBS AND INCANTATIONS.

The question which Tibullus I.8,17 puts to Marathus,

num te carminibus, num te pallentibus herbis
devovit tacito tempore noctis anus?

gives in a general way the two-fold division which holds
in magic practices as depicted for us by the poets of the
Augustan age. Ovid has the same combination, Her.VI.83,

nec facie meritivse placet, sed carmina novit,
diraque cantata patula falce metit,

and instances of this might easily be multiplied.¹ Later
when we come to Juvenal we find the significant word
philtre used in combination with cantus, Sat.VI.611,

Hic magicos adfert cantus, hic Thessala vendit
philtre, quibus valeat mentem vexare pariti
et solea pulsare nates: quod desipis, inde est.

Carmina may be taken roughly to cover various actions
which are usually accompanied by some kind of an incanta-
tion to increase their force and efficacy. Herbae in
general represent the most direct method of approach, the
administering of a love potion or draught requiring, of
course, the presence of the person who is to be affected.²

We hear of herbs being used for other purposes than
this. In Horace, Ep.V.20, for example, they are one of
the ingredients of an incense offering, and the same is
probably the case in Ciris 370. Again in Theo.II.59, they

1. Cf. Tib. I.2,60; Ovid, Amor. III.7,28, Ars. Am. II.102; Xen.
Mem. II.6,10.

2. Cf. Fahz, R.V.V. II. p.132 ff. Dedo, De antiquorum su-
perstitione amatoria, p.2 ff. Abt, R.V.V. IV. p.163 ff.

are smeared on the lintel of the door of Delphis' house.¹
 But these are only sporadic instances. In those cases
 when we can determine from the connection the use to which
 they are to be put, we find almost invariably that they
 form part of a philtre or potion.

Propertius warns the youth, who is about to rush in-
 to love, of what is in store for him, Eleg.I.5,7,

infelix, properas ultima nosse mala,
 et miser ignotos vestigia ferre per ignes,
 et bibere e tota toxica Thessalia.

He does not specify how this is to come about, but we may
 judge of this from another passage, II.1,51 ff.,

seu mihi sint tangenda novercae pocula Phaedrae,
 pocula privigno non nocitura suo,
 seu mihi Circeo pereundum est gramine, sive
 Colchis lolciacis urat aena focis,
 una meos quoniam praedata est femina sensus,
 ex hac ducentur funera nostra domo.

Parallel with this is the assertion of Tibullus I.4,55 ff.
 that he will drink the poisons of Circe and Medea, as
 well as all that Thessaly holds, even the deadly hippomanes,
 if Nereis will only smile kindly upon him. From this
 is clear at least one way in which herbs are employed.
 They are administered to gain love and to hold it.² In
 addition to this they are used as a cure for love. Love
 is the result of magic, and so may be removed by magic.
 The witch promises to cure Tibullus, I.2,60,

1. Cf. Pliny, N.H.,XXII.44.

2. Cf. Prop.IV.7,71; Tib.I.8,17; Achilles Tatius,V.22.

nempe haec eadem se dixit amores
cantibus aut herbis solvere posse meos.¹

By means of herbs one can not only gain the love of another person, he can equally as well take some one away from a rival. In Prop. III.6,25, we have Cynthia represented as complaining to Lygdamus,

non me moribus illa, sed herbis improba uicit,
and in I.12,9, Propertius himself makes complaint of Cynthia,

inuidiae fuimus: num me deus obruit? an quae
lecta Prometheis diuidit herba iugis?

But in taking love away from a rival, the main purpose is to gain it for oneself. Hence the two practices are practically identical. Ovid as a rule discounts the value of philtres in love affairs, particularly in his didactic poems.³ An amiable disposition is of much greater importance, Ars.Am.II.105,

nec data profuerint pallentia philtrea puellis:
philtrea nocent animis vimque furoris habent.
sit procul omne nefas. ut ameris, amabilis esto,

In other places natural comeliness is placed above magic philtres.⁴ But the usual presentation is present in such a case as Am.III.7,27,

2. Rothstein, edition of Propertius, thinks here of the *αἰθουρά* mentioned in Apoll.Rh.III.845, and Val.Flacc.VII.356, as springing from the blood of Propertius. Such plants would have great power in magic.

3. Rem.Am.249 and 261; Med.Fac.35. Cf.Am.I.14,39.

4. Am. I.14,39 ff.; Med.Fac.35 ff.

1. Prop.II.4,7; Hor.,Od.I.27,21.

num mea Thessalico languent levota veneno
corpora? num misero carmen et herba nocent?

As befits the department of literature, the Elegiac poets do not lay too much stress on the harmful effects of love potions. The simples of Medea and Circe, or herbs from Thessaly are usually spoken of as the ingredients of a philtre, and they are used in a perfectly ordinary way to gain or to get rid of love. In other departments, however, both the constitution and effect of a philtre are often represented as different. The pocula anatoria of Juvenal act as slow poisons which gradually rob the victim of his mind and bring him under the sway of the one who has administered the philtre.¹ Their constitution may be seen from such passages as VI.133,

hippomanes carmenque loquar coctumque venenum
and I.69,

occurrit matrona notens, quae, molle Calenum
corruptura, viro miscet sitiens rubetam.

Theocritus II.58 speaks of a κοκὸν ποτὸν, made up however of the seemingly harmless salamander, but later v.159 of κοκὸν αἰόκυκον² which will cause Delphis to knock on the gate of hell. A philtre of special power is that mentioned by Horace, Ep.V.37. A youth is buried up to his neck in the earth and left to die,

1. Cf. Juv.VI.611 ff., quoted above.

2. This word is a vox media. Cf. Hom, Od. IV.230; Digest L.XVI.236; Att, R.V.V. IV.p.186.

1
exsecta uti medulla et aridum iecur
amoris esset poculum.

2
But the most famous of all such pocula is the hippomanes.
Three conceptions of this exist among the ancients, all
of which are mentioned by the poets. It is the viscous
lump of flesh which grows on the forehead of the new-born
colt, and which is eaten by the dam immediately after she
foals. When snatched away first by the sorcerer, it forms
a very potent charm, Verg. Aen. IV. 515,

quaeritur et nascentis equi de fronte revolsus
et matri praereotus amor.³

4
Again it is the 'fetae semina equae' Prop. IV. 5, 18, and
lastly a plant growing in Arcadia, Theo. II. 47,

ἵππομονές αὐτόν ἐστι ποτ' Ἀρχαίοι· τῷ δ' ἐπὶ πῶσι
καὶ πᾶσι μαίνονται ὅν' ἄσσο καὶ βοοὶ ἵπποι.

Theocritus seems to be the only one who understands the
hippomanes to be a plant.

In addition to being taken internally, herbs or
ἑόλουκο may be applied outwardly in the form of salves.
Circe, for example, uses a salve to restore her victims
to human shape,⁵ and Medea uses another to render Jason

1. Exsucta is suggested as an emendation here, and is
indeed read by some mss. Keller and Holder print it in
their text with a star.

2. Cf. P. Brandt, Ovid, Ars. Am. note on II. 100 (Anhang).
R. Dedo, l.c. p. 5 ff. References are given in full by these.

3. Cf. Ovid, Ars. Am. II, 100; Lucan, Phars. VI. 455; Juv. VI. 133,
616, 626.

4. Cf. Tib. II. 4, 57; Ovid, Med. Fac. 39.

5. Hom. Od. X. 391 ff.

invulnerable.¹ The shirt of Nessus and the robe of Creusa belong in the same category. Canidia wonders why the old rake of the Sutura who is 'anointed with a salve such as her hands never made more perfect' fails to come to her. 'And yet', she says, 'no herb nor root, lurking in rough places escaped me.'² Pamphila uses an ointment with which³ to transform herself into the form of an owl.

The efficacy of *εἰδωλον*, - a general term for the various articles mentioned above - is always due to their association in some way with incantations. When burned as an incense offering they are, as we saw in the papyri, always accompanied by an invocation, and the combination of the two resulted in the presence of the god or demon invoked. But often the *εἰδωλον* is of itself a magic charm, because of the supernatural power which has assisted in its preparation.

The frequent mention of 'herbs and incantations' together may sometimes indicate the combined action of the two without further intervention; it is more likely that the incantations have to do with the various actions which they usually accompany, and make effective. These are many, if we consider the numerous manifestations which

1. Apoll.Rh.III.1041 ff.

2. Hor., Ep.V.54 ff.

3. Apul., Met.III.21. Cf. Kausika-Sūtra, 35,41, and Bloomfield, Hymns of the Atharva Veda, p.311.

are attributed to the power of carmina or cantus. Their power has in fact become a hackneyed subject with the latter Latin poets.¹ A typical example is such a passage as Ovid, Am. II.1, 23 ff.,

carmina sanguineae deducunt cornua lunae,
et revocant niveos solis euntis equos;
carmine dissiliunt abruptis faucibus angues,
inque suos fontes versa recurrit aqua
carminibus cessere fores, insertaque posti,
quamvis robur erat, carmine victa sera est.

The moon is brought down to earth, the sun is turned from its course, the dead are called forth from their graves, rivers are sent back to their sources, the earth is split² by an earthquake, the jaws of snakes are broken, crops are transferred from one field to another,³ the sea is

1. Cf. Zingerle, Ovidius und sein Verhältniss zu den Vorgängern, p. 75.

2. Silius Italicus VIII.495 ff. tells us that it was Aegitia who taught the Marsian youth the art of snake charming, 'tactu domare verena', where verena = serpentes venenatas. Aegitia was the sister of Medea and Circe, cf. Solinus II. 27, Mommsen. The ancients seem to attribute the poisonous character of the snake to the fact that they ate poisonous herbs, cf. Verg., Aen. II.471, 'coluber mala gramina pastus'; Homer, Il., 22.93, Hector ὅς τε δόρυ ... ἐσθλὰ καὶ πόονα. On the magician's control over snakes cf. Lucil. Sat. XX.5, 1.; Verg. Ec. VIII.72; Lucian, Philops. IX.; Ovid, Am., II.1, 25, Med. Fac. 39, Met. VII.203; Tib. I.8, 20; Lemesianus IV.70. The great prototype in mythology is Medea and the Dragon, Apoll. Rh. IV.156. The priestess of the garden of the Hesperides is also a snake charmer, cf. Verg., Aen. IV.484 ff.

3. The transference of crops was forbidden by the twelve tables, cf. Pliny, N. H. XXVIII.17; Verg., Ec., VIII.99 and Scholia of Servius; August. C. D. VIII.19; Seneca, N. Q. IV.72. See also, Tib. I. VIII.19; Ovid, Rem. Am. 255; Anul. Apol. 47.

1
 quieted or disturbed, the weather is changed for better
 or for worse, in fact all the conventional feats of the
 magician are performed by means of incantations. 2
 Underneath all this and back of it is the actual magic practices of which we are sometimes in possession from other

1. Ovid, Met, VII.200; Val.Flacc.VIII.352.

2. The great feats of the witch of the Augustan age are drawing down the moon, and calling up the dead. Next to these come more particularly the control of various aspects of the weather, cf. Ovid, Am., I.8,9, of Dipsae, 'cum voluit toto glomerantur nubila caelo: cum voluit puro fulget in orbe dies.' We have sometimes what seems a rhetorical extension of this, Tib.I.2,50, cum libet, aetivum convocat orbe nives, and the second line of Ovid, Met., XIV.369-70, 'tum quoque cantato densetur carmine caelum, et nebulas exhalat humus. Winds obey the voice of the witch, Ovid, Met., VII.202; Val.Flacc.VIII.351. Sometimes the feat is made to suit the special character of the performer, e.g. Canens, Ovid, Met. 338 ff. who has a rare gift of song and who lives in the woods, can tame wild beasts, stop the flight of birds, and move woods and rocks. Perhaps Ovid had Orpheus in mind here. In Ovid, Am.III.7,27, the sport is at a loss to account for his lamentable condition. He attributes it to the influence of spells, for do they not cause sterility in the plant and in the fruit? When Propertius, El.IV.5 wishes to show the terrible persuasive power of the bawd Acanthis over his mistress, he tells us that she can make the magnet refuse to draw steel, and the bird prove a stepmother to her nestlings. We do not need to look for parallels. On the magnet cf. Par.Pap.1722 and 2631, and Wunsch's note in Aus Einem Griechischen Zauberpapyrus, 1.2631. Seneca, Medea, 752 ff.; Lucan, Phars. VI. and Petronius, 134 have catalogues of magic feats, some of which can be paralleled, some of which cannot. The presence of the latter should not be attributed to a knowledge on the part of Lucan of the papyri (although this is the view of L.Fahz, l.c.p.166.) so much as to the rhetorical tendencies of the times.

sources. The moon is brought down to earth to assist in the love charm, the ground is split in order that Hecate may come up to be present at the magic ceremony, and the convulsion of nature is a result of the splitting of the earth. The breaking of the jaws of snakes is a piece of vulgar Italic magic, and is probably introduced into a catalogue of magic feats on account of the prevalence of snake jugglers, and the traditional ascription of the power to the Marsi, Psylli and others. The control of weather by witches or sorcerers is universal, though in some cases we are lead to suspect that there is a connection with the obscuring of the heavenly bodies, or that there is some other motive present. The poets have in most cases laid hold of some popular or traditional practice, and exploited it for the purposes of their art, in each case ascribing the power of the witch to the use of carmina or incantations. In summing up we may say that the magic stock in trade of the poet of the Augustan Age is what may be called the carmen et herba motive, the one signifying in general the different spells which the magician has in his power to cast, the other the use of drugs sometimes in the form of a salve, but generally in a poculum amatorium, the evil effects of which the ordinary reader of that day did not have to go outside of his own times to see.

1. For examples cf. R.Dedo l.c. p.4.

THEOCRITUS, VERGIL, HORACE AND THE ELEGISTS.

The first line of the Pharmaceutria of Theocritus
 πῶ νοι τοὶ δῶανοι ; αἴες θεοτυλί·πῶ δὲ τὸ αἶλτος: gives in
 a general way the two branches of magic which are later
 elaborated in the course of the poem. There may be cal-
 led 'Fire-magic' and 'Philtro-Witchcraft'. Simaetha tells
 us in v.10 that she is going to make use of the first
 kind, νῦν δέ νιν ἐν θυέαν κατοδύσσομαι . The second with
 which she threatens Delphis toward the end of the poem
 (v.159) νῦν ἂν τοῖς αἶλτοσι κατοδύσσομαι is, however, men-
 tioned earlier (v.58) σοῦσεν τοι τείνοσε κοκὸν ποτὸν αἴσιον
 οἶον. This arrangement serves to preserve the unity of
 the poem, which is threatened by the introduction of a
 long address to the moon as the goddess of unlucky lovers.
 Simaetha makes preparations for both kinds of magic. The
 fire-magic, which forms the main body of the action, proves
 unsuccessful, as Simaetha recognizes by the time she has
 finished telling her story to the moon, and she proposes
 to approach Delphis by means of philtres, here probably
 magic potions. If he doesn't yield to these she has still
 more powerful drugs, which will make him knock at the
 gates of Hell.

The magic action is based almost entirely upon the
 doctrine of sympathy. The moon and Hecate take a part,
 but only a subsidiary one. They are asked (v.15) to make
 the spells as strong as those of the great magicians of

antiquity, Circe, Leda and Perimede. The whirl of the iynx is heard in the intercalary. This, which was probably once a moon charm, is used here to draw Delphis back irresistibly to his mistress. It is a part of the symbolism which is so prevalent throughout, as we see from v.30

γῆς δινεῖθ' ὅδε δουρὸς ὁ νόλκεος ἔε' Ἀποδύτρος
ᾧ τῖνος δινεῖτο ποδ' ἐστρέκοιτο θυρεοῖσιν.

An analysis of the first sixty-two lines of the poem shows that the action is all symbolic. Each act is accompanied by an expressed wish, which reveals the symbolism, with the exception of the burning of husks (v.33), and of the fringe from the cloak of Delphis (v.53) where the wish is suppressed for artistic reasons.¹ The divisions are in cola of four lines each, separated from one another by the intercalary. The scattering of barley (v.18), the burning of laurel, (v.23), the melting of wax (v.28) symbolize respectively the scattering of the bones of Delphis, the decay of his body, and the wasting away of his flesh.² In the case of the burning of the husks (v.33) the wish in the mind of Simaetha is suppressed through dread at the expected appearance of Hecate. A poetic digression follows (v.38-41), succeeded by another digression (v.43-46), in the latter case occasioned by the appearance of the

1. Cf. E. Sutphen, *Magic in Theokritos and Vergil*, p.322, in *Studies in Honor of B.L.Gildersleeve*.

2. For fire-magic cf. E. Kuhnert, *Feuerzauber*, *Rhen.Mus.* XLIX, 1894, p.37 ff.

goddess, who must be propitiated by a libation. The wish, however, is present. The mention of the maddening *ἵππουονέξ* symbolizes the swift return of Delphis, the burning of the fringe of his cloak the destruction of his body by the fire of love,¹ and the smearing of herbs the crushing of his bones. As far as we can judge the *ἵππουονέξ*, which is a plant only here in Theocritus, is not turned. It is just possible that it is part of the potion which is being prepared, but is more probably introduced for the sake of the wish which it suggests and makes possible.

The magic action is on the whole very simple. The moon goddess is present to superintend the ceremonies. One symbolic act follows another, interrupted only by an occasional artistic digression, and each accompanied by the turning of the rhombus. In case none of these succeeded in bringing back the recreant, a love potion is prepared to be administered to him on the next day.

A comparison of Vergil with his Theocritean model brings many differences to light. Vergil begins the magic ceremonies in the regular religious manner. Purity in the first place is essential. An altar must be used, and incense burned which shall be pleasing to the gods. The gods of magic are not required to be present. This is in opposition to the trend of the poem. We might, however, have expected that they should at least have been called

1. We have a digression here instead of a wish.

upon to be propitious. We are told that the moon is brought down from the sky by the power of incantations. but her presence is not a motive in the magic practice, and the tendency would be to forget that she had anything to do with it. The preliminary preparations show of course that the gods are thought of, but they are subsequently pushed to the side and forgotten.

The iynx wheel no longer takes a part. It is a mistake to think of it as being used here.¹ Its place is taken by carmina, which, as we have seen, play a tremendous role in Latin poetry. They are credited with such powers that their use in the intercalary is particularly apposite, though we may deplore the loss of the iynx.²

The magic employed is on the whole symbolic. An image is used of which we hear nothing in Theocritus, but which is common enough in Latin poetry. The threads which are twined about it symbolize the drawing of Delphis and find no parallel in Theocritus, where we hear only of the binding of the cauldron, this we know to be a prophylactic measure. We should think of only one image here, despite the notes of the scholiasts. It is probable that two or three images were used in some cases - we have two in Horace - but the limus and cera (v.81), along with the

1. Cf. Sutphen, l.c. p.323.

2. When Vergil says, 'nihil hic nisi carmina desunt' he is thinking of the regular conventional formula for magic practices, 'carmina et herbae'.

mola and laurus (v.82), clearly correspond to the various articles which were burned in the account of Theocritus. Something approaching the idea of defixion is no doubt present in the disposition of the exuviae in Vergil. They are entrusted to the earth, the mother of all magic, and their efficacy probably depends on the intervention of a demon. In Theocritus they are burned. This is in accordance with the treatment which the other magic articles undergo, and can also be paralleled elsewhere.¹

We have seen that the casting away of the refuse, cineres, after the ceremonial is probably due to contamination. It must also be remembered that Vergil started the magic practice with a religious act, and that it is therefore appropriate to end it with a religious act. However this may be, the abrupt connection of the different ceremonies shows that Vergil had no very adequate notion of the magic practice which he was trying to outline. We are told about herbas and verena in v.86, but in no place what is to be done with them. They seem to have been introduced entirely for the purpose of breaking ground for the catalogue of feats which Moeris can perform, but in that case we should fail of an antecedent for his (v.103). It must go back past cineres to herbas and verena; and Vergil must have in mind the threat of Sinaetha, that, in

1. Verg. Aen. IV.426; Apul. Met. III.16. Cf. Lucian, Dial. Mer. IV.4.

case the fire magic proves unsuccessful, she will administer a potion to Delphis on the next day. This does not prove necessary in the eclogue.¹ The rites already performed are shown to be successful by the flaring up of the ashes, which is a good omen and signalizes the approach of Delphis. This is confirmed by the barking of his dog Hylax and there is no necessity for further action, such as Simaetha proposes to take.

The rhetorical tendencies of Vergil as compared to Theocritus are very striking. The account of Theocritus is straightforward, homogeneous, and very little given to poetical digression. Where it does digress the reason is quite clear and the hand of the artist is evident. Vergil, however, has inserted into the account of magic practices three long digressions, one on the power of carmina, one on the power of herbae et venena, and one a simile borrowed from Varius² in imitation of two lines of Theocritus (v.45-6). The two former are hackneyed subjects with the Latin poets, to such an extent in fact that they are often taken together to represent the whole scope of the love charm as it appears in literature. The artificiality of treatment is apparent and detracts very much

1. The supposition that 'his' refers to 'herbas et venena' and so to a love potion is further strengthened by the words 'nihil ille deos, nil carmina curat'. The enchantress has almost given up hope that her rites are successful and utters this last cry of despair, when the fire suddenly blazes up and she realizes that further action is not necessary.

2. Macrobius VI.2,20.

from the vigor and intensity of the original. We do not feel that there is any continuity of action. Rather we have a number of magic practices thrown together into a heterogeneous mass without regard for their natural connections or even for their usual effect. Vergil didn't keep any one thing definitely before him. He took what pleased him from any source, and didn't trouble himself to make his separate bits of information harmonize. The proposed ceremony with the cineres is entirely out of place here. We cannot be certain for what the herbas and verena (v.96) are to be used, and the powers which they are said to have (v.98-100) are not those which are attributed to them usually. The use of the image is unnecessarily vague. In v.84, 'Daphnis me malus urit, ego hanc in Dephnode laurum', the connection between the two parts of the line is much more seeming¹ than real. Long digressions are more characteristic of another branch of poetry, namely the elegy, and are out of place in what purports to be a straightforward account of a magic incantation.

It will escape no one that the magic rites of the fourth book of the Aeneid are closely allied with those of the eighth Eclogue. They are, however, expanded or

1. This verse is a contamination of parts of two Theocritean lines, 40 ὅλλ' ἐπὶ τῆναι πῶσοι καὶ θοοί θοοι and 23 ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ δέλαϊδ' ὀδόνων οἴθω. Cf. Dedo l.c. p.40.

contracted to suit the purpose of the author. One item,
at least, of the ceremony is omitted¹ and the others are
radically changed. One altar has become many (v.509).
The gods are called upon in person, and their number is
multiplied for effect (v.510-11),

ter centum tonat ore deos, Erebumque Chaosque
tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.

Instead of simple water, we hear of water from lake
Avernus. In the place of ordinary drugs we have the dead-
ly hinnomanes, perhaps the most famous ingredient of a
love potion. In the place of the country witch we have
a priestess from the garden of the Hesperides, and the
feats which she can perform are all connected with the
greatest attribute of a sorcerer, the bringing up of the
dead to earth. All is on a tragic scale, and in keeping
with the death of a queen, and the greatness of the epic.
Everything however can be traced back to its origin in
the Eclogue.

The purpose of the rites of the Eclogue is to gain
love, but what, we may ask, is the purpose of the rites
of the Aeneid, and why in a situation which seems to demand
the utter extinction of love do we seem to have a ceremony²
of which the trend is in exactly the opposite direction?

1. The casting away of the refuse, cineres.

2. Cf. Heinze, Vergils Epische Technik, 2nd ed. 1915, p.141
ff. and especially p.142, n.1.; Deo l.c. p.47 ff.; E.
Penquitt, De Didonis Vergilianae exitu, Königsberg diss.
1910, p.34 ff. None give a satisfactory explanation. Pen-
quitt's dissertation is of little value.

It is very easy to say that the same rites which cause love, are used in getting rid of it, and so Vergil may leave the matter open. But this is a superficial judgment and one not borne out by the rest of the literature, where ridding oneself of love is almost invariably a matter of lustration, or purification from the effects of magic. The explanation lies deeper than this, and can only be reached by a consideration of the whole complicated situation.

Dido had made up her mind to die and nothing could turn her from her resolution,

ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore
decrevitque mori, tempus secum ipsa modumque
exigit.

Only the means remained to be found. The traditional Dido had killed herself on the pyre rather than marry Iarbas, feigning an offering to the manes of her dead husband before entering upon a new alliance. The Vergilian Dido feigns a magic offering in the place of an offering to the dead. The change was a master stroke on the part of Vergil because of the opportunities which it afforded him for the delineation of the emotions of a

1. Justinus, XVIII.6, velut placatura viri manes inferiasque ante nuptias missura multas hostias caedit et sumpto gladio pyram conscendit atque ita ad populum respiciens ituram se ad virum, sicut praecenerint, dixit vitamque gladio finivit.

2. Heinze, l.c. p.141, n.1.

woman in a truly terrible situation descending to magic rites.

Anna must be kept in ignorance of the real purpose of the ceremony, but we are not allowed to lose sight of the fact that behind it all Dido is making preparations for her funeral, v.506 ff.,

At regina, pyra penetrati in sede sub auras
erecta ingenti taedis atque ilice secta,
intenditque locum sertis et fronde coronat
funerea, super exuvias ensisque relictum
effigiemque toro locat, haud ignara futuri.

As Conington notes, the description of the pyre here is parallel to that of the pyre on which Misenus is actually burned, VI.214 ff. Anna failed to see that a funeral was intended, v.500 ff.

non tamen Anna novis praetexere funera sacris
germanam credit nec tantos mente furores
concipit aut graviora timet, quam morte Sychaei.

Vergil makes a special point of the use of the effigy and of the exuviae. The exuviae are mentioned earlier in the instructions to Anna (v.496); the sword and the effigy Dido herself places on the pyre, haud ignara futuri. The connection of these last three words with the ensem is clear. Dido intends to kill herself with the sword. But there is also a close connection with the effigiem. Aeneas is to be burned in effigy, and Dido will ascend the pyre in true oriental style to die with him. This is shown by v.638 ff.,

sacra Iovi Stygio, quae rite incepta paravi,
perficere est animus finemque inponere curis
Dardanique rogi canitis permittere flammae.

This is really the pyre of Aeneas, and it is therefore in accordance with custom to burn on it the things which had belonged to him in life. In this one instance Vergil has worked out very carefully the parallelism between magic rites and a funeral.

It is superfluous then to ask whether the effigy and the exuviae are used to gain love or to get rid of it. Ordinarily in love charms they are used for the former purpose; here the pretense is that they are employed for the latter. In all probability Vergil didn't consider their special significance in magic, or if he did, neglected it. He was content that they should take their meaning from the context, which was to Dido, and so to him, that of a funeral, rather than of magic rites.

The words which Dido addresses to her sister,

inveni, germana, viam (gratare sorori)
quae mihi reddat eum vel eo me solvat amantem

¹
do not, as Dido thinks, show any inconsistency on the part of Vergil. As far as the account is concerned Dido may be trying to regain the love of Aeneas or to get rid of her own love. The whole thing is a sham, as we know, and she is trying to do neither - she has made up her mind to die and is merely deceiving her sister. Naturally then she mentions the two operations which the witch most commonly performs. We have the same thing recast

in v.487-8,

haec se carminibus promittit solvere mentes
quas velit, ast aliis duras inmittere curas.

The stress seems to be laid on the former alternative.

Later on (v.638-9) Dido gives up the one alternative, and tells her nurse Farce what she intends to do,

sacra Iovi Stygio, quae rite incepta paravi,
perficere est animus finemque inponere curis.

There is a double entente in these words. Under the guise of ridding herself of the love of Aeneas, she intends to kill herself and put an end to all her troubles. We cannot say that the magic practices which are introduced are for the one purpose or the other. Except for the use of the effigy and the exuviae which serve to bridge the gap between the magic ceremonial and the funeral rites, they are of the purely conventional type which is characteristic of erotic poetry. In connection with the hinnonanes (v.515) which would be required to be administered in person, it is scarcely necessary to inquire whether Aeneas was still present in Africa and available for this purpose. As a matter of fact he hadn't set sail as yet and there is nothing inconsistent in mentioning a love potion. But there is no idea of administering it. As we have seen in Theocritus and in the eighth eclogue of Vergil and, as we shall see more plainly in the elegy,¹ it is one of the tacitly accepted parts of any love charm.

1. Vergil's treatment of magic in the Aeneid approaches that of the elegy in several particulars.

Under the form of a recantation, Horace renews and aggravates in the seventeenth epode the savage attack which he had made on Canidia in the fifth epode, and the eighth satire of the first book.

Iam iam efficaci do manus scientiae,
supplex et oro regna per Proserpinae,
per et Dianae non movenda numina,
per atque libros carminum valentium
refixa caelo devocare sidera,
Canidia, parce vocibus tandem sacris,
citumque retro solve, solve turbinem.¹

Horace swears by the gods of magic to show that henceforth he is a believer in the power of magic, and by the books of incantations as evidence that he subscribes to their contents. The reference in these books is evidently to the panyri, where by far the most important motive is the calling of the moon down from heaven. In fact the whole action of the panyri centres about this one point - the coercion of the moon goddess to the aid of the sorcerer. The mention of the magic wheel, or rhombus here is also very significant in view of the fact, as we have seen, that in all probability it was originally a moon charm. Horace is asking Canidia to stop working the moon charm against him.

There can be little doubt that Horace was thoroughly acquainted with the panyri, or if not with them, with the popular notions which were held about magic practices, more likely with the former. There was unquestionably at

1. Hor. Ep. XVII.1. ff.

that time in Rome, as in any other nation which has had a literature, both a literary tradition, and a popular tradition of magic. For the latter we have to depend to a great extent on the evidence of the papyri, and it is consequently impossible to say whether Horace got his knowledge of magic from them or from the people. The use of the rhombus to draw down the moon, which doesn't turn up in Latin literature as specifically a moon charm until as late as Martial¹ is mentioned in the papyri² and was no doubt a popular conception handed down in the popular tradition. The drawing down of the moon, however famous in literature, was not a part of the magic action as depicted by the literary artist. It had long been consigned by the poets to a secondary place, in a catalogue of feats usually attributed to the sorcerer. Consequently even the means of coercion had been lost sight of, and could only be recovered by recourse to the tradition as handed down among the people.

The papyri practice of drawing down the moon by means of an elaborate offering of incense will be remembered in this connection. The practitioner took a notion of a large amount of incense which had been carefully compounded³ of various ingredients and going up on the roof of a

1. Mart.IX.29,9; XII.57,16.

2. Par.Pap. 2296 and 2336.

3. The ingredients are many so that some one of them at least may be the sovereign power which will force the moon to come down.

house burned it in the open air with the appropriate incantation. Reference to this practice is almost lacking in magic literature. Vergil has a suggestion of it, but only a suggestion.¹ Horace on the other hand has a noteworthy example.²

Canidia, brevisus implicata vinctis
crines et inconstum carut,
iubet sepulcris caprificos erutas,
iubet cupressus funetris
et uncta turris ova ranarum sanguine
plurisque nocturnae strigis
herbasque, quas Ioleos atque Hiberia
mittit venenorum ferax,
et ossa ab ore rapta ieiunae canis
flammis aduri Colchicis.

Horace doesn't tell us that the moon came down on account of this. He merely insinuates that it is one of the magic acts. But it is pretty clear that he got his idea for this from the papyri or from the people. At least no such complicated offering occurs elsewhere in magic literature. The materials used in fire magic were as a rule those in common vogue in all religious ceremonies; Horace has ventured off the beaten path and introduced something much more appropriate to magic and so probably more commonly used by the people.

By far the clearest proof of Horace's connection with the papyri is shown by the close parallelism which exists between the necromantic practices of the eighth satire and

1. Hor. Ec. VIII. 68. Cf. Ciris 370.

2. Hor. Ep. V. 17 ff.

of the Greater Paris Papyrus 196 ff. This has been considered in detail in connection with the doctrine of the effigy. The effigy or image, which was ordinarily burned as a piece of symbolic magic is in Horace connected with the calling up of the dead, as usually in the papyri.¹ The fact that the image of wax is later in the poem spoken of as being buried shows that Horace was acquainted with the literary tradition in such matters. He has mixed the two traditions in his eagerness to make his poem replete with magic practices. It should also be remembered that necromancy is very common in the papyri where the actual presence of Hecate, so often identified with the moon goddess, and her accompanying shades was so very essential a factor in the action.

One of the witches invokes the Fury Tisiphone, and she actually appears, as we learn from the presence of the serpents which always accompany her. This can be paralleled in the papyri, for example in Par.Pap.1416, where we have πέρυον δ' ὀφιδόν. But much more important than this is the appearance of the moon, or Hecate with her infernal dogs.² There is nothing conventional about the treatment accorded her. She is on the spot, and so much so that she hides behind the sepulchres in the grave-

1. The images are in the instructions of the papyri to be thrown into a grave, with a tablet addressed presumably to the demon of the dead man buried there.

2. Cf. Apoll. Rh. III.1216; Theo. 835; Lucian, Philons. 24; Verg. Aen. VI.257; Tib. I.2, 50; Seneca, Medea, 840, etc.

yard to avoid seeing the horrible rites of the two witches.¹

Toward the end of the scene Sagana talks with the shades, and hides in the ground the beard of a party-colored wolf and the tooth of a serpent. The beard of a wolf, as we learn from Pliny² was an amulet, or prophylactic, and it is perfectly natural that it should be mentioned here, because of the necessity under which the sorceress labored of always guarding herself against possible harm from the goddess or the shades. The use of an amulet is confined to the papyri, where it is very common, and is found in the magic literature on the love charm only in this one place in Horace.

Abt would have difficulty in showing that the four parts of the magic ceremonial of the papyri are to be discerned in Theocritus.³ It is in fact impossible to find them however closely we may look. But this cannot be said of Horace. ἐπίβουρο, λόγος, ποδῆς, κυλοκίτιον are not only all present, they conform in each case quite closely with the usage of the papyri. More than that we have the moon and the shades actually present, whereas, in Theocritus, where we should expect to find the popular tradition on account of his connection with the mime, this factor in the action is left very largely to our imagination.

1. Kiessling is not right in supposing that the moon is on the horizon.

2. Pliny, N.H. XXVII.157.

3. Cf. R.V.V. IV. n.314, n.

Horace's treatment of the love charm is clearly different from that of any of the other poets of his age. In life and vigor he is closer to Theocritus. Obviously the department of satire demands that the emphasis be laid in a different place. Simaetha is a simple maiden of the lower classes, except in so far as Theocritus has to some extent endowed her with the terrible qualities of a witch. Canidia is an arch-enchantress, no doubt well known at Rome in her time, though perhaps under a different name.¹ It is beside the mark to ask the question whether she was a personal enemy of Horace (as Bruns does).² This is entirely a matter of conjecture. What is plain is that she was an excellent subject for satire. The vigorous treatment accorded her is perfectly in keeping with the kind of poetry Horace was writing. There is no place here for the conventional method of elegy, and very little place for lists of feats such as are usually ascribed to witches.³ Priapus is represented in the eighth satire as seeing the whole magic performance, and this gives room for a picture of the magic rites in all their un-

1. Scholia on Hor. Ep. III.8 and Sat. I.8, 23.

2. Der Liebeszauber bei den augusteischen Dichtern, Preussische Jahrbücher CIII, 1901, p. 213 ff.

3. We have a catalogue of magic feats at the end of the seventeenth epode.

blushing fearfulness. The epodes are somewhat different, but in this case they are enhanced in effect by being cast in the form of mimes.¹ As a result the treatment is more dramatic, and more play is given for the introduction of popular material such as Horace was eminently well acquainted with.

Bruns (l.c.) has insisted that Horace stood in awe of the power of Canidia and her followers, and that behind his satire we may detect traces of his own personal experiences and personal acquaintance with magic practices as carried on in the Rome of his day. Dedo on the other hand, in taking up the theory of Bruns,² expresses the belief that Horace followed Alexandrian models, and that in this respect he must be considered along with the elegiac poets, whose treatment of magic we recognize as largely conventional. Needless to say Horace was well acquainted with Alexandrian and other literature which bore on his subject. Traces of this show everywhere. But he was also closely in touch with the popular material, and the magic practices he describes are the result of a mixture of the two. We do not need to believe that Horace was better acquainted with the popular beliefs of magic than the other poets of the time, although this

1. O.Crusius, Untersuchungen zu den Mimiamen des Herondas, p.22 and n.1.

2. l.c. p.42 ff.

seems probable and his poetry bears it out. It is clear, however, that he utilized these beliefs to a greater extent than they did. Both the satire and the epode depended for their effect on an intimate knowledge of existing conditions, and a trenchant vigorous exposure of the characteristic vices of the day.

With Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid the theme of the love charm⁶ thoroughly conventionalized, and seems further from real life than at any other time in its history. This is due in a large degree to the dependence of the elegists on Alexandrian poetry¹ and to the form of the elegy. However artistic the treatment, there is a sense of reality about the magic practices which Theocritus, Vergil and Horace depict. By stressing certain definite aspects of magic they adapted it to the needs of pastoral, satire and epic in turn. Whatever the department demanded they took from any source available, but as a rule they worked their information together so well that it left a definite impression on the mind. The outcome was a whole, however composite, and it was easy to picture the magic operation as it progressed. All this is changed in the elegy. There is no longer any action, all is allusion. Magic is no longer a leading motive, but the embellishment of an erotic subject. It is not a subject for a poem but an ornament which graces it. No attempt

1. Cf. K.F.Smith, Tibullus, The Elegies, Introduction, p.23. Bruns l.c. p.196 ff. Dedo l.c. p. 38 ff. Bruns decries Alexandrian influence, and thinks more stress should be laid on the personal experiences of the poets.

is made to give a composite picture. Very often magic operations of all sorts are mingled together without any thought of their connection. The effect that is produced depends more on the piling up of various rites, than on their careful selection for a specific purpose. They are not essential to the action, but merely serve to characterize a given person or to adorn a given situation.

The elegists were unquestionably well acquainted with the popular magic of the day. No one could escape a knowledge of so pervasive an aspect of Roman life. But their subject precluded any extended treatment of magic motives. In view, however, of the very common use of love potions at that time we are led to suspect that in this, at least, they made use of their own private information. This is borne out by the frequency with which philtres of this kind are mentioned.¹ In fact the magic practices of the elegy are almost wholly made up of references to harmful philtres, and catalogues of magic feats.

As we have seen, lists of magic feats have a considerable place in Vergil's Eclogue, but there these operations were more or less differentiated as being due to carmina or poisonous herbs, and were to a certain degree real because they were inserted into the midst of actual magic practices. In the elegy these catalogues are every-

1. Prop. III.6, 25 ff., II.1.51 ff., II.4, 7 ff., I.5, 6; Tib. I.8, 17; II.4, 55; Ovid, Ars. Am. II.100 ff., Rem. Am. 249 ff., Med. Fac. 35 ff., etc.

thing, and all magic actions in an epitomized form find their place in them. The best example of this is perhaps Ovid, Am. I.8,5 ff.,

illa magas artes Aeaeaeque carmina novit
inque canut liquidas arte recurvat aquas.
scit bene, quid gramen, quid torto concita rhombolicia,
quid valeat virus amantis equae.
cum voluit, toto glomerantur nutila caelo:
cum voluit, puro fulget in orbe dies.
sanguine, siqua fides, stellantia sidera vidi:
purpureus Lunae sanguine vultus erat.
hanc ego nocturnas versari volitare per umbras
suspitor et pluma corpus anile tegi.
suspitor, et fama est. oculis quoque pupula duplex
fulminat, et gemino lumen ab orbe venit.
evocat antiquis proavos atavosque senulchris
et solidam longo carmine findit humum.

Ovid wishes to utterly condemn the go-between Dipsas, who is attempting to corrupt his mistress, and draws on every source indiscriminately in order that he may have an imposing array.

The best example of the various ways in which magic themes can be utilized is to be found in the treatment of Ovid. In Her. VI.83 ff. and Met. VII.199 ff. we find long catalogues of magic feats attributed to Medea. This is in accordance with tradition and the kind of poetry Ovid is writing. His subject gives him a fine opportunity for mythological play. We notice a certain difference as soon as we come to the Amores. In I.8,5 ff. quoted above, the attributes of Dipsas are not those of Medea, but the ordinary attributes of the bawd or lena. In II. 1,23 ff. he expatiates on the power of carmina in the most conventional way possible. But in his so-called di-

dactic poems he adopts an entirely different tone toward magic, not we may be sure from a change in heart, but because he is posing as a teacher and not as a lover or mythographer. Spells and philtres, he tells us, Ars.Am.II. 99 ff. are of no use; they only prove injurious. If you wish to be loved, be worthy to be loved. Again in Rem.Am. 249 ff. he casts discredit on all kinds of magic, and points to a newer and less harmful way of getting rid of love. In Med.Fac. 35 ff. manners, disposition and character are held up for emulation as against the use of spells and notions. Nothing could be more indicative than this of the use of the theme of the love charm, when the same author in different departments of his writings can employ it for purposes diametrically opposed to each other.

LIFE

Leslie Cornelius Cox was born in the town of Bowmanville, Ontario, Canada, April 26, 1890. He received his primary and secondary school education in the public schools of Durham County, Ontario, and in the Bowmanville High School. In 1909, he entered Victoria College of the University of Toronto and was graduated with the degree of B.A. in 1913. During the year 1913-1914, he was at his home in Bowmanville. For the three years 1914-17, he attended the Johns Hopkins University, and followed the regular courses in Latin, Greek and Sanskrit, leading to the degree of Ph.D. During this time he held the Edmund Law Rogers Fellowship.

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F. Hawley, 1132 Glenview Rd., Case 12

